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MARCH MEETING, 1878.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday the 14th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the preceding meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian reported various gifts to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-keeper announced the gift from Mr. Harrison Ellery of a photograph of a portrait of Mrs. Nathaniel Ellery, painted by Copley about 1760.

The following committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting, were appointed: to nominate a list of officers, Messrs. Foote, Goddard, and Upham; to examine the Treasurer's account, Messrs. W. Amory, Lawrence, and Chase.

The stated day for the annual meeting having been selected by the Governor of the Commonwealth for the Annual Fast, it was voted to hold that meeting of the Society on Wednesday, the 10th of April.

Colonel Henry Lee, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member; and Mr. John Austin Stevens, of New York, a Corresponding Member.

A copy of the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund was presented by the President.

Mr. DEANE reported, from a committee previously appointed, the printed sheets for supplying the deficiency in Hubbard's "History of New England," procured from a perfect transcript in England. These consisted of a title-page, a preface of nine pages, and twenty pages of text, with a prefatory note by the committee. These sheets were intended for the copies of Hubbard now in the Society's possession and for those in public and private libraries, the work having been printed in the Society's "Collections," as well as in a separate volume.

He also read a private letter from Peter O. Hutchinson, Esq., of Sidmouth, England, the owner of the perfect copy of Hubbard's History, giving some interesting incidents relative to the family papers, and communicating the following account of the death of Governor Hutchinson, taken from the diary of his second son, Elisha Hutchinson: —

"Governor Hutchinson died either of heart disease or apoplexy, on the 3d of June, 1780, as he was walking from the door of his house to his carriage to take an afternoon drive, as his custom was. His second son, Elisha, and his son-in-law, Dr. Peter Oliver, saw him stagger on the pavement and catch at his footman for support, and they ran downstairs to his assistance. He was led back into the hall and placed in a chair, where he died almost immediately. He was buried on the 9th of June at Croydon, some ten miles south of London, as I have myself seen in the Register; and he was placed in a vault belonging to the Apthorpe family, with members of whom he had been on terms of friendship. There is no record over his remains, but there are inscriptions cut in the pavement of the floor to one or two members of the family."

The Rev. E. E. HALE called attention to what he supposed was an original broadside of the "Declaration of Independence," in a volume of proclamations, &c., in the Society's Library, there having sometimes been a doubt expressed as to whether the Declaration was originally issued in a broadside. This only bore the signatures of John Hancock, president, and Charles Thomson, secretary, it being well known that the general signing of the instrument did not take place until some weeks later.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM, referring to the discussion at the last meeting relative to the "Hutchinson Papers controversy," said that the "Massachusetts Gazette" of April 25, 1774, had a letter dated London, Feb. 15, 1774, containing the following statement: "The letters sent to Boston by Dr. Franklin have made much noise here, and he has been roughly handled by the ministry for the same; but it is pretty well known with us that the said letters were given by Mr. Whately to the late Hon. George Grenville, at whose death they fell into the hands of Lord Temple, who gave them to the Hon. Mr. Fitzherbert, and were by that gentleman given to Dr. Franklin."

Mr. FOOTE laid before the meeting the journal of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, relating to proceedings in Boston immediately following the revolution under Andros, copied from the original in her Majesty's Public Record Office, in London; introducing it as follows:—

In consulting the "Continuation of Chalmers's Political Annals" (Colls. of N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1868), I was led to think that the document which is referred to in the note on page 88 as "Bullivant's curious diary in N. Eng. Ent. 30," might be of value.

By the kind offices of our President in communicating with

Mr. W. Noël Sainsbury, of London, I was enabled to procure a copy by that gentleman from the original Diary of Dr. Bullivant, now among the papers in the Public Record Office in London.

The writer was himself one of the prominent persons in the Andros government, and enjoyed special opportunities for knowing and recording the history of that eventful time. It was my hope to find that he had done so in such detail as to furnish a companion picture to the Diary of Judge Sewall, and especially that he would complete the fragmentary records of the establishment of King's Chapel in Boston, of which church he was an important member. Although his brief jotting of public events does not fulfil this expectation, it is not without value.

Concerning the author, it may be noted that Benjamin Bullivant came to Boston from London, about 1685. He was a physician and apothecary. John Dunton describes him thus:—

“I pass to my good friend Dr. Bullivant, formerly my fellow-citizen in London. I must consider him both as a gentleman and a physician. As a gentleman, he came of a noble family, but his good qualities exceeded his birth. He is a great master of the English tongue, and the Northampton people find him a universal scholar. His knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of attorney-general, which was conferred upon him on the revolution in Boston: it is true he sought it not, but New England knew his worth, and even forced him to accept of it. While he held this place of attorney-general, he was so far from pushing things to that extremity as some hot spirits would have had him that, he was for accommodating things, and making peace. His eloquence is admirable: he never speaks but 'tis a sentence, and no man ever clothed his thoughts in better words.

“I shall next consider him as a physician. His skill in pharmacy was such as had no equal in Boston, nor perhaps Northampton. He is so conversant with the great variety of nature that not a drug or simple escapes his knowledge, so that he never practises new experiments upon his patients, except it be in desperate cases, where death must be expelled by death. This also is praiseworthy in him, that to the poor he always practises cheap, but wholesome medicines, not curing them of a consumption in their bodies, and sending it into their purses, nor yet directing them to the East Indies to look for drugs, when they may have far better out of their gardens.”

He probably brought a wife from England, as his daughter Hannah was baptized Jan. 3d, 1685-6, at the Old South Church; but neither he nor his wife is in the printed list of members of that church. He was the first Senior Warden of King's Chapel from 1686 to 1687.

He was made attorney-general under Governor Andros, and took a conspicuous part during his administration, and, sharing in its downfall, was imprisoned for eight weeks in the common jail, and was detained in Boston for many months before he could get away to England, as his petition to the king for redress relates.

Notwithstanding his treatment by the people of Boston, he must have returned here later; for Hutchinson, who terms him "among the more liberal" (II. p. 112), records that "Lord Bellomont, going from the [Thursday] lecture to his house, with a great crowd round him, passed by Bullivant standing at his shop-door loitering. 'Doctor,' says his lordship, with an audible voice, 'you have lost a precious sermon to-day.' Bullivant whispered to one of his companions who stood by him, 'If I could have got as much by being there as his lordship will, I would have been there too.'"

[P. R. O. New England B. T. Vol. 5. B. C. P. 32.]

[Indorsed:]

NEW ENGLAND, 1690.

Mr. Bullivant's Journal of Proceedings from the 13 Feb. to the 19th of May.

S^r—Underneath I give you the minutes of such occurrences I noated in Boston since the departure of Sir Edmond Andros: they are without any enlargements taken from my pocket booke, where I entred them dayly, as I could obtain a certainty of the Report. I am,

Sir, your humble servant,

B. B.

February 13th, 1689-90. Sir Edmond Andros putt to Sea in Capt. Bant.

17. Advice from Casco, that the Indians had carried off from thence about 30 head of Cattle, without other mischief.

19. The Piscataqua men of the 4 townes in Hampshire endeavoured an association amongst themselves, independent on Boston; but Hampton stood out, alledgeing they would tax them immoderately and certainly, but releive them not att all; so the Bank moved by Martin the Baker an independent, who gott himselfe chosen Justice by the common people in the church, tooke upon him the power to send Pickering the miller to Boston to negotiate the matter and procure powder of the Councell there: the Councell was at first regardless of him, but tendring to come under theyr government, sold him a barrell of powder for £9 ready money, but did no more for them to this day.

One Davis, a common Alehouse Keeper, proposed to be Deputy President of the Province of Main with the title of Mayor, the people refuse him obedience. Resolved by the Representatives that an Election be in May next according to Charter usadges.

20. The Generall Court pardoned all the pirates except Tom Pounds; adjourned for 10 days; ordered a fast.

24. Tom Pounds further reprieved at the Instance of M^r Epaphras Shrimpton and sundry women of quality.

24. A post from Albany advised the French and Indians in a stormy night had surprised and taken Skenectadie, had murdered all Males in number about 60, particularly the minister, whom they miserably tortured, the women and children carried Captives, some of whom gott away in the woods, but with some children were frozen to death in theyre return to Albany, the Enemie haveing wholly destroyed the town; there were severall Mohacks in the Town, the mortall Enemies to the French, yet were they not only spared, but the families in which they lay treated well for theyr sakes, so desirous are the French to reconcile the Mohacks to them, yet were not the barbarous Mohacks so kind to them, for surprizeing one of them in theyre retreat, bitt of his fingers joynt by joynt, who confessed that 200 had made the Surprise and that 600 more were preparing to make a desent on the more Northern parts of New England. With this Messenger of the surprize of Skenectadie came a Letter from the Mohacks to the people at Boston, sharply chideing with them, and alledgeing they of Boston had told them (the Mohacks) they of Boston were a great people, and would be out early in the Spring against theyr Enemies the French at Kebeck; yet they observed it was but idle talk, and thrice in theyr Letter upbraided the Bostoners that they did much Eate, much sleep, much speake, but left the warr upon them, and therefore desire they will be speedily at Canada by Sea, where they would meet

27 *Febry*. them at a day certain; hereupon by beate of Drumm was published a generall Embargo, and that all persons should lay aside trade and apply themselves to be in readinesse for warr against the French and Indians in all Quarters. A law came out enjoyneing the collection of all rates left uncollected in Sir Edmond's time, which was hardly dijested by the people, as also for collecting the Arears of Excise, and continueing the same: many went to prison for refusall. The condemned pirates are now told they may be at liberty paying 13: 6: 8. a man fees, or be sold into Virginea. Tom Pounds excepted.

24 *Febry*. At the county court Bantam was tryed on a malicious prosecution for Felony without a Grand Jury, though he objected he ought not to plead, untill he had been indicted by his country, but the Bench over ruled him, and on a full tryall was acquitted.

March 10. A post from Albany gave an account that a Ladd who had been made prisoner by the French and Indians at the surprising of Shenectadie gott from them in the woods, and loosing his way home was mett by 200 Mohacks and 30 Dutch, who were makeing after the French, who enquiring of the boy the state of the Enemy, were assured they were weary and tyred with the plunder and might be over taken in 2 houres march; the Indians put the boy in his way for Albany, and hasted after the Enemie, and in about one houre after the boy saith he heard much firing and stayed to heare it a Long while, and believes the parties were briskly engaged.

17 *March*. M^r Livingston, secretary of Albany, came to Town, accompted the disgust of that place against Leislars his violent and monstrous proceedings at N. Yorke, and to urge the Bostoners to dispatch the forces promised the Mohacks, who (as above said) had fallen upon the French and Indians in the Rear, that the Mohacks had lost theyr captain (the same that was at Boston) & 3 common Indians, that 3 Indians of the French side and one Frenchman were slayn & 15 French made prisoners and brought to Albany.

Trade so extreemely fallen off in Boston by the discouragements on most men of Businesse, the encrease of the small pox, the disorders, complaints & ungovernableness of the soldiers, that no payments were made in trade, & poor people ready to eat up one another or turn Levellers.

23. Sir William Phipps was publicly baptized by young M^r Mather, made his publication & entred a member, soon after nominated a Magistrate.

18 *March*. A post from Salmon falls on Piscataqua river brought the sad & certain news of the Indians & French haveing fallen on that plantation, haveing killed and captived 80 persons & burned all the houses, with these Capt. Hopewood or Wayhamoo was the chiefe Indian. One Playstead, who was taken there & gott away, told us, this Wayhamoo was his old friend, & desirous to putt him at Liberty, sent him with a flagg of truce on pretense to summon the neighbour garrisons & offer conditions, but gave him instructions to save himselfe & not return. Secretary Livingston attends his negotiation about the succors from Connecticut for Albany, is opposed by one Blayne, a sloop man of New York & one of Leislars counsell, and is disregarded by the Bostoners, and some of Leislars's faction were for Imprisoning him; but he managed his affaire with such discrecion, & printing the treaty betwixt the Mohacks and Albanians he walked the streets more chearfully. But before he got to Albany, they had news that the French & Indians had passed the Lake about 1500 men, & the Albanians to strengthen themselves had received in Leislars's men. After the News arrived about the Bank of the destruction of Salmon falls, a party of volunteers gott together & made one Hammond theyr Captain & overtooke the Enemie, lodged in a large farme house & hoped to have attacked them privately, but they had placed centinells abroad, who gave notice to their main guard of our approach, & received us with a sudden & brisk volly of small shott, killing 7 or 8 men who retired to a logg fence for shelter & continued pelting the enemy & receiving theyr Ball for some time, till under the shelter of the night the enemy retired & our men made an Alt & soone after tooke one Frenchman alive & found 3 or 4 more killed. The Frenchman on his examination declared he was born at Paris, his name Francis Montier, that he had been 3 years at Canada, that the party of which he was 30 French and 20 Indians, that they came from Canada the latter end of February, lay in the Ayr & snow all that passage neare 60 dayes, that they designed more easterly, but meeting with Hopewood alias Wayhamoo and 9 Indians more in the woods, was by him encouraged &

pilotted to fall upon Salmon falls; saith they surprized the garrison by night, killed 14 of the souldiers ere they were aware of the enemy, having no Centinells out; being demanded why they killed women & children, answered the Indians would have it so, to be revenged of the Mohacks, who had rosted & eaten off the fingers of theyr relations and had confessed to them that the English sett them on. He farther declared the French had 3 parties of about 900 men abroad, designed some against Tings garrison at Casco, others else where; he said he fell into our hands on purpose to avoid returning to Canada where the officers were very severe; he said 2 Merchant men of 25 guns a piece were in the River at his coming away, but that the men of warr were gone home; that there were 3000 men efective at Canada in severall posts, about one 3d being souldiers. The souldiery about this time that were returned from the Eastward were in a high disgust for theyr pay they had earned since the Revolution (for all before was lost to them) and spake very insolently to theyr new masters publicly in the streets, crying out, God blesse King William, God blesse Sir Ed: Andros, & Dañ all pumpkin states; the constables are pressed to collect the new rates, but have so much work to distrain the very many refusers, that little came in. In the meane time to stopp the souldiers clamors, they had debentures on the Constables, but could not be payd unlesse they would abate for present pay some 25, some 50 per cent, according as theyr necessities were. Doctor Arden & severall others told me this of the constables of Charles Town & Boston. The Councill & Deputies are now upon the Debate of making a Descent on port Royall; many weekes are taken up in the talk. M^r Nelson is desired to lay his Methods before them, which he did in writeing and was proposed for generalissimo, & people believed it would fall so, as the fittest person for such an enterprise; but the Country Deputies said he was a Merchant & not to be trusted, so it is offered to Sir W^m Phipps & the ministers are said with great difficulty to obtain his lady's consent to itt, & then he would accept itt. Nelson offred to be his Lieuten^t Gen^l refuseth with scorn & contempt. Drums beate up for the Service, some few list, & as soon change theyr minds & desert at discretion, no one daring to question them, printed propositions for theyr encouragement are spread abroad; (viz^t) they should have $\frac{1}{2}$ the plunder (ammunition excepted) & the pay made good to theyr relations if they were killed in the Service. The Northend men headed by Sir W^m Phips, Milbourne, & Way, apply to the Deputies for the discharge of Turell & White in execution for a just Debt, the Deputies vote for theyr discharge, the magistrates opposed, as being in custody under theyr commitment. Sir W^m Phips & a not contented with the opinion of the Magistrates go personally to the prison, proffers the keeper £3000 security to bear him harmless if he would put them at large, the keeper refuseth & gives as hard language as he receives. An alarm from Aimsbury of the Indians, who had killed 3 or 4 English in the meadows & retired.

27 March. M^r Levingston went for Albany with the Massathusetts dispatches in favour of Leislar.

The same day Capt. Blackwell arrived from Pennsylvania in his way by N. York, visited Leislar, saith he was a mad man as arbitrary & tyrannical as any Bassa, brought over the Manifesto of the people of N. York against him printed at Pennsylvania.

3rd *Aprill*. Gen^l Phips his men mustred at the Town house, most without armes, about 80 in a body deserted, with hurra's, haveing bene told they must find theyr own armes. Greenough, Hall, Bernard, Coleman, Willy, Skates, made commanders by the Gen^l. Coleman next day hooted at by his company, induced thereto by Young Winslo, whom they chose theyr Captain. The Gen^l & Councell dissolve itt, & turn out Winslo againe & would give him not so much as a halabert. Price & Higginson, Salem Deputies, protest & argue against an Election till theyr Magesties pleasure be known, some ministers made speeches also against it, as of very dangerous consequences, but prevayle not. Leave the assembly in Disgust, soon after are libelled in print, but theyr whole town unanimously protect them.

Aprill 4. At a town meeting at Boston, Justices were elected, Joyliff, Sergeant, Friery, Willis, Adam Wintrop, D^r Clark, Thornton.

Sir W^m Phips his ship weighed from Boston & came to an

20. anchor at Long-Island head; Capt. George weighed from Nantasket for Piscataqua, arrived there 21 at even, the people sent out a Boat with a letter to excuse them that they could not salute him from the fort, wanting ammunition. He bad them save it for theyr enemies. The best of those parts came on board him & payd him all the respects imaginable, & the most intelligent & aged of the Eastern people, who had fledd for to save theyr lives from severall parts, gave him the sad accompt of theyr deplorable condition, the sad spoyles & horrid murders of theyr wives, children, fathers, relations were amazing to know, they gave in an accompt of above 400 had been massacred & captived. Since the seizure of Sir Edmond Andros & his commanders, the drawing of the souldiery & ca, Captain George advised they would adresse to England, the best of them said they desired to do so. But Marten the Baker who makes himselfe chiefe thereabouts would deale ill by them, but most earnestly besought him to represent this theyr deplorable estate. The numbers of these distressed are so great Piscataqua cannot feed and employ them, so they resolved for Boston & cast themselves on them for maintenance, as those that had much occasioned theyr wants. Some also in & about Boston signed a petition to theyr Majesties, discouraged in itt by the present magistracy, some threatened & theyr houses searched.

28 *Aprill* (or *thereabouts*). Sir W^m Phipps sayled by the Isles of Shoales for Port Royall.

19 *May*. Cap^t George sayled with the mast shippes from Piscataqua; at that time no news at all of Sir W^m Phipps, though Chalops & other small craft came in dayly & examined about itt.

Councillor Hinks, Justice Elliot, Justice Fiery, the Cap^t & Lieutenant of the fort, & some other principall persons in Piscataqua came on board Cap^t George (ready to sayl) & brought him theyr petition about government, beseeching him to lay itt & the Instructions before his

Magesty &ca. The Duplicates were putt in the hands of a passenger on board, Capt. B. Clarke.

Came on board Cap^t George John Holman, Constable of Casco-Bay-forts, & with many tears & lamentable expressions acquainted him that he was with his Chalops friday night 16 May, hoping to bring off his children, but seeing 45 Canoes of the Enemie there, durst not goe on shoare, but stood on & off all night long till break of day; that he heard many hundreds of gunns fired in the night & saw much Burning, perticularly Tings & fendalls garrisons, that by day breake he came as near the shoare as he could & fired at the Indians who lay under the Rocks firing at him, that there were no Vessells there but himselfe; that he observed Ingerson's garrison under Sergeant Hix & 18 Red-coats left there by Sir Ed. Andros to fire stoutly & constantly a good while, But that soone after he heard no gunns at all, but saw 4 or 500 Indians & French running up & down yelling & rejoyceing; that he expected the fort would have fired upon them & opened a way for his Chalop to come in, but findeing the fort silent, concluded it taken, so stood off, haveing but 3 firearms on board. His further Businesse was to beseech Cap^t George to be a meanes to procure 30 men from Major Frost the Massachusetts commander there, with which he would joyn fishermen, & man out 3 Chaloops to save his children (if he could) or any others that might have gott into the woods. Cap^t George immediately sent away his Pinnace for Major Frost & Cap^t Frier who came on Board & were vehemently urged to furnish the said 30 men, but absolutely refused, saying it was to no purpose at all (besides they had not men ready, being drawn off by an order signed J. Addington 3 days before, which order Cap^t George tooke a coppie of), for that Sergeant Johnson arrived yesterday morning at York & gave an account to Major Davis who sent an Expresse to the said Cap^t Frier Vaughan & Martin at the Bank, adviseing all the forts were taken & burnt & all people about 250 souls killed or taken captives. The same expresse brings an humble request from the Inhabitants of Black point & winter harbour, begging for the Lord's-sake to be immediately fetched off or they should all perish. Cap^t George urged this also, the which was faintly promised. Cap^t George, haveing an Anchor on Board & ready to way, stayed yet 2 houres to see if the Chalops would go out, but about one houre after some chalops of York & Wells came in crowded with those poor people & such goods as they could save, & confirmed the losse & that theyr own dwellings were probablie ere this consumed by the Enemie. The River people are hereupon so dismayed, they were packing up theyr goods & putting them, theyr women & children, on board the Chalops for Boston. The wind being fayr, Cap^t George with the 2 mast men sayled into the Sea about 2 of the clock afternoon. 19th May. 1690.

Mr. ELLIS AMES produced an original letter of Richard Henry Lee, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, to the "Honorable John Page, Esq., at Williamsburg, Virginia," post-marked "Baltimore, January 2"; and

on the lower left-hand corner, in the handwriting of the writer, are also superscribed the words, "Free, R. H. Lee."

The letter had been sealed up with sealing-wax, and the motto of the seal is now as plainly legible as ever, "Non incautus futuri." This motto is taken from the 35th line of the first Satire of Horace, Book 1st, where the sentence or part of the sentence reads as follows, viz. :—

" Sicut
Parvula (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris,
Ore trahit quodcunque potest, atque addit acervo,
Quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri."

Smart translates the foregoing passage from Horace thus :

"Thus the little ant (for she may serve for an example) of great industry, carries with her mouth whatever she is able, and adds to her heap, which she piles up, by no means ignorant of, and *not improvident for the future.*"

It would be superfluous to say any thing of Richard Henry Lee. Of the Honorable John Page, it may be proper to say that he rendered most important services to his country during the Revolutionary war. He was one of the first representatives from the State of Virginia under the Constitution of the United States. In 1800, he was chosen one of the Electors of President; and in December, 1802, he was chosen Governor of Virginia, in the place of Mr. Monroe. His residence was at Rosewell, Virginia. He died at Richmond, Va., Oct. 11, 1808, aged sixty-four years.

The following is a copy of the letter :—

BALTIMORE, 2d January, 1776.*

DEAR SIR,—By the express lately sent from hence, I enclosed you both the printed accounts that we have had of the General's success against the enemy in New Jersey. Colonel Baylor, who brought us the General's letter, says that a party of Hessians more was brought in just as he came away, which makes the number of prisoners between one thousand and eleven hundred. Re-enforcements are daily going up, and in such numbers that the General intends to push the enemy, and we hope successfully, out of the Jerseys. The Hessian officers in general behaved infamously in this battle; and the British light-horse, with the Tories that were in town, scampered off at the beginning of the engagement. A few days before this attack, a flag was sent over to Trenton to this Colonel Rohl, now a prisoner: he received and treated the officer kindly; asked him if 'twas not reported that the

* This date is an evident mistake for 1777. The battle of Trenton was fought Dec. 26, 1776.—EDS.

Hessians plundered much, and that they were the only plunderers. The officer answering in the affirmative, Colonel Rohl replied that the English had address enough to have it so believed, but that it was notorious that the British officers and soldiers plundered more than the Hessians. Two British officers present denied it not. Soon after this rout, two thousand Hessians that were at Bordentown, below Trenton, on Delaware, marched off, having previously sent away one hundred wagons loaded with plunder, directly towards New York. If the Hessians are the smallest plunderers, what are the British? In truth, we hear that the people are enraged to a great degree at the brutal treatment they have met with. Our worthy friend, General Lee, had retired to a house but a little way from his army (and by the advice of a man who lived in the parts, and who affected great resentment at the enemies' conduct) 'to write a few letters to General Gates and others on business of consequence; when the villain who had brought him there, went privately express to the enemy and brought up the light-horse, seventy of them, who made the General prisoner, carrying him off without his hat. They had travelled very fast, their horses being in a foam when they arrived at the house. This is certainly a heavy loss to the American cause, but still it rests on ground too strong to be shaken. You say it is reported that my letters have given up all for lost. You may rely upon it, sir, that this is false. I have related things truly as they were, and, whilst Pennsylvania was in lethargy, supposed, as our General was without an army, that Philadelphia might fall; but always subjoined that, though this might hurt, yet the loss of ten such cities would not ruin, the American cause, and called upon my correspondents to remember that at the beginning of this quarrel we told our enemies that we knew they could take our cities and our sea-coast, but that still enough would be left to secure American freedom. These have been my sentiments, and therefore you see how grossly I have been misrepresented. But the treatment I have received this way from some mean-spirited, dirty, envious wretches, has been frequent and gross. My contempt for those folks is abundantly greater than I can express. I am perfectly satisfied that these little malicious lies will make no impression on you or any sensible, virtuous man, and the rest may think of me as they please. I love their ill opinion, but should be miserable under their esteem. The king of Spain has certainly given us free use of his ports for our ships of all kinds, including prizes. And every wicked art, even lies of the British Ambassador at the Court of France, cannot prevent them from assisting us.

Farewell, dear sir; encourage the enlisting business, because with our new army American freedom and independence will be secure.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

The President communicated the following original letter of Edward Winslow, the Pilgrim governor, and a number of original Indian deeds:—

Mr. Bradford, Mr. Prence, and the rest of our ancient partners :

After divers and sundry treaties with Mounsier Latour and sundry the gentlemen of Boston concerning our loss and wrong * at Machebig-uatus by Mounsier D'Alney, this last of the month, and last of the week at afternoon, I have made over our right and title to the Fort there, &c., to John Winthrop, Junior, Esq., Capt., Major Edward Gibbons and Capt. Thomas Hawkins, of Boston, their heirs, associates and assigns. And because I cannot stay to perfect the things, Mr. Winthrop, Jun^r is bound to me on the behalf of the rest, that if Mounsier Latour shall not pay unto me to your and my [illegible] use, the sum of two hundred pounds sterling upon the taking of the said Fort, at the house of Valentine Hill, merchant of Boston, if so much goods be in it, or if not, in one or two years after the taking of the same, in beaver or moose skins, and give not bond obligatory for that end forthwith, that then the said deed by me made to be void and of none effect, or else to stand in full power, force, and virtue.

Now the thing desired by them and me is that yourselves, the rest of the partners therein, will be pleased to manifest your consent by some joynt writing herewith. Thus having nothing more to write thereabout take leave and remain

Yours as his own,

EDW. WINSLOW.

CAMBRIDGE, this last of Aug., 1644.

MR. GEORGE S. HILLARD was appointed by the President to prepare a Memoir of Colonel Aspinwall.

Judge HOAR presented, and by request read to the meeting, a Memoir of George Bemis.

MR. HILLARD, through Mr. DEANE, communicated the Memoir of the Hon. James Savage, which he had been appointed to prepare.

These Memoirs are here presented.

* The "loss and wrong" which the Plymouth people sustained by D'Aulney occurred at their fort, in what is now Castine, on the Penobscot River, in 1635; for a full account of which see Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, pp. 332-337; also Winthrop's History, I. 168; and Wheeler's History of Castine, pp. 15, 17. We find no reference, either in Bradford or Winthrop, to the settlement effected by Winslow, as described in this letter. The orthography of the letter has been modernized. — Eds.

MEMOIR

OF

GEORGE BEMIS.

BY HON. E. R. HOAR.

GEORGE BEMIS was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, on the 13th of October, 1816; and died at Nice, in France, on the 5th of January, 1878, in the sixty-second year of his age.

He was the youngest son of Seth and Sarah (Wheeler) Bemis. His father was an intelligent and successful manufacturer, a graduate of Harvard College of the year 1795, who died in 1850, leaving to his children a considerable property. His ancestors on the father's side had been substantial citizens of Watertown from about the year 1640. His mother was a native of Concord, belonging to a family of the earliest settlers of that town.

Mr. Bemis was fitted for college with Mrs. Samuel Ripley of Waltham, a lady whose thorough scholarship and elevation of character made a profound and permanent impression upon the young men who were fortunate enough to be her pupils. He was a handsome boy, fond of study, quick of apprehension, with a ready and retentive memory, affectionate, and with a native refinement and purity. I have heard that he was a favorite with his teacher; but, from another source, have learned that she once said "that her objection to George Bemis was that he was *too perfect*." He passed the examination for entering Harvard College in 1829, when but thirteen years of age; but continued under Mrs. Ripley's instruction for three years more, entering the Sophomore class in 1832, and graduating the second scholar in his class in 1835. He studied law in the law school of the University, then in the charge of Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf; took the degree of bachelor of laws in 1839, and was admitted to the bar in July of that year. His legal training

was very thorough ; and his learning, acuteness, diligence, and fidelity gave him very soon a good position at the bar, and a profitable practice.

His first appearance as counsel in the reports is peculiar and characteristic. While a law student, he had taken a class in the Sunday school of the State prison. At that time, the system of imposing additional and severe sentences upon "second and third comers" to that institution was established by law. On inquiring into the history of members of his class, whose confidence he had gained by his Christian sympathy and faithful labors for their welfare, he learned that some of them were undergoing imprisonments for long terms of years, or for life, for offences comparatively trivial ; and, considering what remedy could be found for this injustice, he became satisfied that some of the original sentences, upon which the accumulations of punishment were based, were themselves erroneous. He thereupon brought writs of error (defraying the whole expense of the process himself), which were argued before the Supreme Court and sustained ; by which a considerable number of prisoners were released. Some alarm was expressed at the letting loose of these convicts upon technical grounds, and warnings and remonstrances were addressed to Mr. Bemis, intimating that his course would be prejudicial to his prospect of success in his profession. But he was resolute and persistent in adhering to his own views of duty, and only ceased his efforts when he was satisfied that the substantial ends of justice did not further require his interference. The result was a marked increase of care by the courts in the imposition of sentences for crime, and the abolition in Massachusetts of the whole system of cumulative punishments.

He was associated with Mr. Bigelow (afterward Chief Justice), in 1843, in conducting the defence of Abner Rogers, a convict in the State prison, who had killed the warden. The case was twice tried, and is a leading American authority upon insanity, and especially that form of it defined as uncontrollable impulse, as an excuse for homicide. The defence was maintained with great gallantry in the face of a public opinion at first extremely hostile ; was at last successful ; and subsequent events proved it to have been well founded.

He was also associated with Attorney-General Clifford in conducting the prosecution of Dr. Webster, in the year 1850, for the murder of Dr. Parkman, and did no small part of the labor which that celebrated case required. Each of these

trials was fully reported in a published volume, with Mr. Bemis as the editor.

He was engaged for some time in the earlier part of his professional life in assisting the late Judge Willard Phillips in preparing a codification of the criminal law, which, however, failed of adoption by the legislature. But he made the subjects of crimes and punishments the object of profound and philosophical study, and in the course of it maintained a correspondence with some foreign jurists, among whom was the eminent professor of jurisprudence at Heidelberg, Mittermeyer.

In 1858, when in the possession of a lucrative private practice, from which he had already acquired a competency, his delicate constitution received a severe shock, which changed the whole course of his subsequent life. He was employed upon a railroad case before a committee of the legislature, and after a hearing which had continued many hours he made his argument at a late hour of the night. The next day, he suffered a severe hemorrhage from the lungs. A large part of the rest of his life was spent in Europe, the winters in Italy or the south of France; using the precautions of an invalid, but enjoying thereby a very considerable amount of strength and capacity for labor. His favorite pursuit during these twenty years was the study of public law, and the law of nations. When the war of the Rebellion brought into new prominence questions of neutral and belligerent rights and obligations, Mr. Bemis entered with great vigor into the discussion on the American side of the controversy. He contributed numerous articles to newspapers, and exposed unfounded pretences of the British government with a thoroughness of research and closeness of reasoning which could hardly have been surpassed. Between 1864 and 1869, he published in succession four considerable pamphlets.

1. Precedents of American Neutrality, in Reply to the Speech of Sir Roundell Palmer, Attorney-General of England, in the British House of Commons, May 13, 1864.

2. Hasty Recognition of Rebel Belligerency, and Our Right to Complain of It.

3. American Neutrality: Its Honorable Past, its Expedient Future. A protest against the proposed repeal of the neutrality laws, and a plea for their improvement and consolidation.

4. Mr. Reverdy Johnson: The Alabama Negotiations, and their just Repudiation by the Senate of the United States.

These contained substantial, and in many cases absolutely

conclusive, replies to the position taken by the British ministry, and supported on their behalf by the eminent publicist, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the present member of Parliament for Oxford, who wrote for the London Times over the signature "Historicus."

Mr. Bemis rendered important service to the State Department in the investigations necessary in preparing for the settlement of the Alabama claims. He was a warm and valued friend of Charles Sumner, who had the highest respect for his character and acquirements; and he left Mr. Sumner a large legacy in his will, which, however, lapsed by the death of the distinguished legatee.

Mr. Bemis became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on the 13th of July, 1865, and by his will has left to the Society \$1,000. The same clause in the will bequeaths a like amount to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, with this modest statement appended, "of each of which societies I have been for some years a *negligent* member."

Mr. Bemis was a man of singular purity and refinement of character. His professional reputation was rather that of an acute and subtle lawyer than that of a specially successful advocate. Though never holding or desiring public office, he was warmly interested in public affairs, intensely American and patriotic, and a Yankee of the best Massachusetts type. With profound religious convictions, he was fond of theological speculation, attended all the lectures of Mr. Emerson, and, as his pastor and friend, the Rev. Dr. Clarke (of whose society in Boston he was an original and valued member), said at his funeral, "was always regarded as the *critical* member of the parish committee."

He was never married; but was social, friendly, and hospitable, affectionate and sincere. Frugal in personal expenditure, his private charities were constant and ample, and his public spirit was ready and unfailing. He was strongly attached to his classmates, and a dutiful son of Harvard College. I think he carried the heart of the boy into the life and labors of the man more completely than is often to be found.

In addition to the bequests already mentioned, beside a provision for his kindred, and legacies of friendship and charity, his will contains a gift of some magnitude to the Boston Athenæum, a provision for completing the purchase of Mr. Story's statue of President Quincy for the alumni of Harvard College, and the munificent endowment of a pro-

fessorship in the law department of the University, the precise terms of which I have copied and append to this Memoir. It is a generous recognition of "the debt which a man owes to his profession," a debt which in other ways he had never failed to acknowledge, and is the crown of his diligent, thoughtful, liberal, upright, and honorable life.

Extract from the Will of George Bemis, dated October 23d, 1872.

8. I devise and bequeath to the President and Fellows of Harvard College the sum of fifty (50) thousand dollars, subject to the life use of my sister Sarah, as hereinbefore specifically set apart; said legacy to become absolute in case of my sister's death before my own. To have and to hold to said President and Fellows, and their successors in office, in trust for the establishment and maintenance of a professorship of public or international law in the Dane Law School of said University.

I have no restrictions or conditions to lay upon the Corporation in regard to the organization and management of said professorship, other than that I desire that it may be filled by some able and upright publicist and jurist, who shall bring to the office a competent fitness for that special department of study and practice, and of sufficient ability to discuss the current questions of national interest connected with it in such a way as to instruct and aid the popular and professional understanding of them. In that sense, I should desire him to be not merely a professor of the science, but a practical co-operator in the work of advancing knowledge and good-will among nations and governments. For that object, I should prefer, if practicable, that the incumbent should have had some official connection with public or diplomatic life, or, at least, have had an opportunity, by foreign travel or residence, to look at the United States from a foreign point of view, and so to estimate it as only one of the family of nations.

I will add that I make this bequest to my Alma Mater largely through the impulse of gratitude for her valued teachings; but more especially for the instruction which I derived from the legal department of her schools through the lips of the late Judge Story, whose memory I cherish as one of the best guides to study whom I ever had the good fortune to meet, and whose friendly stimulus to exertion I shall always gratefully remember. I may also add the expression of my hope that this bequest will in some degree aid the promotion of the science of public law in the United States, particularly on the part of my brother lawyers, who, I have thought, have been hardly alert enough in coming to the aid of the national government on the great questions of belligerent and neutral rights, which have of late years so exercised our country and England. May it be the continuing pre-eminence of my country to know and practise a just and Christian neutrality, while other nations are cultivating the arts and prerogatives of war.

MEMOIR
OF THE
HON. JAMES SAVAGE, LL.D.
BY HON. G. S. HILLARD.

THE name of Savage has been well known in New England for nearly two and a half centuries. Thomas Savage, the founder of the family, arrived in Boston in the year 1635, probably one of those who accompanied Sir Henry Vane. He was twenty-seven years old at the time. In 1637, he married Faith Hutchinson, daughter of the celebrated Ann Hutchinson, who gave our fathers so much trouble by her peculiar theological opinions, and her obstinacy in adhering to them. Thomas Savage was a man of influence and consideration in the infant colony up to the time of his death in 1682, and held many offices, both civil and military. He was often one of the representatives of the town in the General Court, was Speaker in 1659 and frequently afterward.

In 1680, he was chosen by the Colony one of the Assistants, which office he held till his death. He was one of a committee appointed in 1673 to erect a barricade in the harbor of Boston for defence against a fleet then expected from Holland. Out of this barricade grew, in less than forty years, the Long Wharf, a small portion of which has continued ever since the property of some member or members of the family. Thomas Savage was Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and was commander of the forces in King Philip's War at its opening, and served during its continuance with reputation. Upon his death, a funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Third Church, of which Major Savage was one of the founders. The sermon was printed in 1684 by Samuel Green. A copy of this sermon was given to Mr. James Savage, the subject of this Memoir, by Mr. John Farmer. On the fly-leaf is the following inscription in the handwriting of Mr. Savage:

“This sermon was presented to me by John Farmer, Esq., of Concord, N. H. It was taken out of a volume by the Rev. Samuel Willard, Vice-President of Harvard College.” Mr. Samuel Willard, the author of the sermon, was chosen Vice-President of the College in 1701, upon the resignation of Increase Mather, its President.

Major Savage had a family of patriarchal extent, being the father, by two wives, of no less than eighteen children. Mr. James Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary of the settlers of New England*, quaintly remarks, “I believe no descendant has equalled that number of children!” The family has been numerous in New England ever since. Thirteen of the name had been graduated at Harvard in 1854, and four at Yale, all descendants of Major Thomas Savage. The branch of the family which settled in Boston has continued there for several generations. James Savage, descended in the sixth degree from Major Thomas Savage, was born in Boston on the thirteenth day of July, 1784. His father was Habijah Savage, and his mother Elizabeth, daughter of John Tudor. They had a numerous family, comprising eight sons and three daughters. James was the ninth child and sixth son. He lost his mother before he had completed his fourth year. Nor was this loss, so irreparable to a child of his tender years, the only misfortune which fell upon him. His father had before this been afflicted by a failure of reason, for irregular periods of short duration; but such was the effect upon him of the death of his wife that he became permanently and hopelessly deranged.

There being no public retreats for the insane at that time, he was placed by his friends in the family of a farmer at Andover, where his life was prolonged for many years. Some one or more of his children boarded in a neighboring house, so as to be able to give such filial attention as his situation required. But James was not one of those; and he himself says, “I can hardly dare to say my memory runs to partaking his smile more than two or three times in my life.” The Rev. Dr. Thacher, who preached upon the death of his mother, selected a touching and appropriate text in Psalms xxvii. 10: “When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up.” In this forlorn condition of the family, the place of parents was supplied by their maternal uncle, Judge Tudor, and his sister, Mrs. Mary Thompson.

James was fitted for college partly at the Washington Academy in Machias, in which place two of his sisters were married and settled, and partly at the Derby Academy in

Hingham. Here, to use his own language, "most happily had I the affectionate regard of a lady in whose family my mind gained its strongest impressions, my heart its tendency to quick impulses of benevolence." This was Mrs. Lincoln, the daughter of James Otis, and the widow of Benjamin Lincoln, son of General Lincoln, a lawyer of much promise, who died young. This lady was in all respects to him a mother. Indeed, in his letters to her he always addressed her by that name, and she in her turn always called him "her dear child." In 1799, he entered Harvard College. His college life was uniformly a very happy one, though in his Sophomore year he incurred the censure of the Government, and with three others was suspended. The cause was some riotous proceedings of the class consequent upon the punishment of one of its members; and Savage was selected for discipline, because a black flag was raised on the building in which he lived at the time. One of his companions in misfortune was Willard, afterward the pastor of Deerfield, the oldest man in the class, of staid aspect and carriage, upon whom the trial fell more severely because he was the nephew of President Willard.

This youthful escapade was the more remembered in after times, because there could be no two persons less likely to incur censure for resistance to lawful authority than Mr. Savage and Dr. Willard; the latter being remarkable for his saintly and apostolic character, an impression deepened by the total loss of sight, which he suffered twenty or thirty years before his death. For Mr. Savage himself his suspension was a good thing, for he was sent to the Rev. Isaac Braman of Rowley, a man of cheerful conversation, and with a wife in every way suited for a clergyman's helpmate.

By this amiable family he was treated as a son, while he pursued his studies without the distractions or interruptions of a college life. Upon his return to Cambridge, he applied himself with more than former diligence, and with such success that he was graduated in 1803 with the highest honors of his class. The Valedictory Oration was on the Patronage of Genius, and is a thoughtful performance, showing much reading, and written in a style finished and mature, though, as might be expected in a composition of that time, somewhat deficient in simplicity.

There is still, in Mr. Savage's handwriting, a picture of his mind and character in his youth and early manhood. It consists of copies of the various letters written by him while he was in college, and for a year after. They are contained in

several loose sheets, upon one of which in his later life he has inscribed the following memorandum: "This roll contains rude copies of my boyish letters from 1800 to 1804, which may be preserved as a mortification, but containing useful dates." The originals of these letters were addressed to his relatives and classmates. Why he should say, they "may be preserved as a mortification," it is not easy to understand; because, while they have no essential literary merit, as a record of the growth of his mind and the formation of his character, they might have been looked back upon with satisfaction at any time of life. They are characteristic alike of the writer and of the times in which they were written. Letters were then considered as an exercise in composition, and were not used as now, simply to communicate some passing event or fact, or to convey some transient mood of feeling. Correspondence is now simply a conversation in black and white. In those days, postage was dear, and money was scarce. These letters of young Savage were evidently written with much care: they may even be called labored, and occasionally a little stilted. The influence of Dr. Johnson was at that time all-pervading, and evidence of it appears in this correspondence. Cheap postage has proved one of the greatest blessings conferred on humanity; but it has made such letters as those of Gray and Cowper things of the past not likely to be revived.

These letters serve to show, even at that early age, the strength of principle, the purity of life, the warmth of domestic affection which always distinguished him. They also show that he held, when a boy, the same views, especially upon public subjects, which he maintained through life. The times in which they were written were times in which politics ran high, and convictions were held and expressed with great warmth and vehemence. We give a few extracts, which we think will be of interest to those who knew Mr. Savage in his manhood and declining years.

In the summer of 1800, when he had just completed his sixteenth year, he writes to his younger brother, Arthur, as follows: "Do not be discomposed and disheartened by the difficulties of the Latin Grammar, for when you have learned this you cannot easily write false English; and, when you have got through it, you may consider every Latin word laid up in the storehouse of your memory as a treasure of great worth." In another to the same correspondent, written about a year after, he uses a little playful criticism: "Your short epistles are full of mistakes, improprieties of grammar, &c.:

only one half of these can be pardoned on account of your inexperience. 'I have some beautiful watermelons and muskmelons almost ripe.' I conclude that you left this sentence imperfect, and intended to have invited me to partake of them. Mixing English and Latin words together has always a disagreeable effect. 'We go about thirty-six miles *per* day.' This sounds too much like a sailor's speech, 'We run her about twelve knots an hour.' Exclusive of the ill-termed use of the Latin preposition '*per*,' what would you think of the gentleman who would write you in this manner: 'We walked 40 miles in that diem.' You have fairly stuffed into your letter nine great I's; but, in a letter of mine last week to a friend, not half that number was inserted. This egotism is a grievous fault: pray you avoid it."

To his elder brother, John, a clerk in a store in Barnstable, as decided a Democrat as his brother was a Federalist, he writes, under date of Feb. 4, 1801: "Your expectation that 'social order, republicanism, and liberty will soon pervade the world, and extend with them the arts and sciences,' though to me they appear delusive, yet I should be glad to find them verified. You further observe that 'the present year has opened on our country very auspiciously.' This our present happy state I hope will continue; but by many it is not expected, from the character of the men who are destined to the chair of government. I do not say this is my opinion, but I entertain fears which I could not have, if the 'Solon of New England' had been continued in office. But of politics enough."

To the same correspondent, he writes, under date of March 4, 1801: "This is the day so auspicious to you on account of the election of your republican friends, Jefferson and Burr; and I will join with you in wishing our country prosperity equal to what it has enjoyed under the republican administrations of Washington and Adams. But, however black clouds may threaten in our horizon, I hope and trust their destructive influence will never extend to New England, but that this fairest part of our Union may still continue as remarkable for its good order as it has ever been for its good sense. May the new administration never be led to abandon the interests of our country; and may the venerable Adams, the first and greatest legislator America has produced, enjoy the remainder of his life for the good of posterity." To the same correspondent, he writes, under date of April 9, 1801: "I received your last on Monday, and was pleased with your panegyric on Jefferson, and your allowance of eminent talents

and 'ardent patriotism' to Adams, notwithstanding his 'duplicity and ungovernable ambition.' You have formed a pleasing idea from considering the present state of the world, and I do not despond of our own country. If you expect that the maritime power of Britain will be restrained by the shackles which France has attempted to impose on her, in my opinion you will be deceived. I believe the claws of the lion are superior to the talons of the Prussian eagle, assisted by the united force of France, Holland, Russia, Spain, &c. I do not wish to see the power of Britain, the mistress of the ocean, reduced by any nation of Europe; for it is the general opinion that no nation will behave with greater regard to justice. But should our country equal even a secondary power, such as Spain or Holland, I presume we should not endure with patience the insults from France and Britain, which have been offered with impunity. But politics may rest."

To Mrs. Lincoln, to whom he felt all the love and gratitude of a son, he writes as follows: "Buonaparte, the man whom many abhor and many more admire, has, by the late restoration of the Catholic worship, strengthened his own power, and can now guide the curb as he will. The despotic nature of that religion is favorable to his views. As the Protestants have liberty to worship publicly, it is probable great benefit will result; at least, the return of the superstitious devotion of Rome is much preferable to their subjection to the divinity of Atheism, whose altars have so long been drenched with blood. The situation of the peasantry in that country will certainly be ameliorated by peace returning in triumph to religion."

To his friend and classmate, Lewis Strong, of Northampton, he gives an account of the Phi-Beta-Kappa exercises, under date of Aug. 29, 1802: "On Thursday, enjoyment was the expectation of all, and all were gratified. The poem was replete with wit, and the sentiments which will ever arise on the mention of the subject of New England. The story of Putnam's killing the monster who ravages the country round his habitation was told with much humor: the beast, however, that inhabited the poet's den was a mammoth, and not a wolf.* The language of McKean was simple and nervous. His subject was the origin, design, and tendency of secret societies, especially of the Phi-Beta-Kappa. The orator animadverted with severity on the societies whose object is carefully concealed, but whose tendency is to revolutionize the

* The poem on this occasion was delivered by William M. Richardson.

state or destroy religion. The force of his sentiment was much assisted by the fiery flashings of his eye. His politics were decided and open. He reprobated the system of proscription, and the introduction of foreigners to the honors of our government. With much simplicity, he paid an elegant compliment to New England. Her citizens have never preferred the 'Age of Reason' to the Bible, never thought 'Common Sense' equal to the 'Defence of the American Constitution,' never have mistaken the friend of Mazzei 'for a Washington.'"

In a letter to the same correspondent, he gives an amusing account of one of his mathematical exercises: "My mathematical part was easily completed in two days, but I must inform every beholder what the objects represent. My church, for instance, Mr. Webber would mistake for an Indian wigwam, covered with a yellow blanket, which my paint very much resembles. My meeting-house steeple would be taken for a sedition pole; and I might be in great danger of an indictment, had not our all-wise legislators abrogated that frightful law. I have sometimes thought that the opposition to that law arose from the fear of some that, if liberty poles were forbidden, gallows would arise in their place, and the honest Demos are bitter enemies of such infernal machines. My Massachusetts Hall resembles a bloody flag. Strange that the habitation of the Muses should be so frightfully metamorphosed. I know you are tired of this rhapsody; and, if you are not, I am."

In a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, dated March 20, 1803, from the country residence of his uncle Judge Tudor, he writes as follows: "I have no noisy companions, some good silent companions, such as twenty volumes of Mavor's Travels, and but one or two other books. I am not in the state of the poet who wrote,

'The world forgetting, by the world forgot,'

for I neither know nor am known; but, for my few friends, I think I have more leisure to think on them than they can spare to me. Had I notched a stick every time I have thought of you, I should soon have ended my record, and have said with the aboriginal of Virginia, who undertook in such a manner to remember the people of England, and was compelled to cease, 'Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sands on the seashore.' To be sure, this bears the mark of an hyperbole; but savages have always dealt in strong figures, and I have as good a right to use them, and more reason in this case, than my brother Powhatan."

To his sister, Mrs. Bruce, under date of May 2, 1803, he gives an account of his personal experiences: "On Tuesday last, we had an exhibition here, at which time the Government of the College was so partial as to hear me pronounce an English Oration. The company was numerous and splendid. The applause bestowed on me was (I say nothing of my desert) superior to my expectations and equal to my wishes. Thus, although I was so unfortunate as to be compelled to take a tour to the country about a year and a half ago, the Government have seen fit to change their opinion of me; and, although I shall not at Commencement have the first or second honorary part, I shall receive my degree with honor." He did, however, receive the first honors at Commencement, in spite of his fears to the contrary.

In a letter to Enoch S. Tappan, under date of June 20, 1803, he records a misadventure which befell Mrs. Lincoln, who was rash enough to trust herself to his guidance in driving from Hingham to Cambridge. He was at all periods of life a most unskilful charioteer, and very rarely took the reins in hand. "For more than one reason, you will regret my undertaking, but your feelings cannot equal mine on this sorrowful occasion. My Aunt Lincoln commands me to be her scribe, as she is unable to write. On our return from Hingham, partly by the inconvenience of the ground, but more owing to the obstinacy of the horse, and perhaps not a little to the carelessness of the driver, our chaise was overturned. Fortunately, the horse stopped soon, or we should both have suffered most severely. Aunt Lincoln's right arm was broken, and the wrist dislocated. We were near the Mall in Cambridge. Mr. Mellen was right: Aunt L. did not faint; and, although two of the trio of physicians were absent, Waterhouse was at home. Every thing was properly attended to in the space of twenty minutes. Madam commands me to make *this* apology for her conduct, that she found the people of Cambridge were not interested enough in her welfare, and she thought fit to commit some act which should render her more notorious. As the fracture of her arm has produced so good an effect, I do not think it probable she will condescend to break her neck. Her situation is more comfortable than could be expected, spirits good, and she wishes that her friends may not be alarmed by exaggerated intelligence. Even in this town, it was rumored that the horse was struck by lightning; and they have broken almost every bone in both our corporations, so as to stick out of our skins, 'like quills upon the fretful porcupine.' But most of

this is false ; and the poor charioteer, who should not, in honor or decency, have come off without a mark, is honored only with a port-hole through his lower lip, which will not, I fear, continue open more than one day longer."

To his classmate, William B. Sewall, he writes, under date of July 21, 1803: " We seem to coincide as much in our opinions of the modern poets as upon the orators. Bloomfield will find readers, because many people will perceive that every thing he says is perfectly natural and true, that there are hogs and poultry and turnip-yards ; and, as they could not comprehend any such fine sentiments as cluster in the pastoral of Thomson, they must think that the farmer's poetry is perfect, for they discover no void in imagery or sentiment. Della Crusca, on the contrary, will hereafter be forgotten *in toto*. For nothing but the novelty could have given so great a currency to the unmeaning jargon of Merry and the others. Whatever is unintelligible I always disregard, even in philosophy ; but poetry, which is the language of nature, should certainly never use any but a simple dialect. Bombast is as certain a criterion of dulness as frigidity." What an illustration of the changes in literary taste ! At the present time, it is probable there is not a young man in Cambridge who has read Bloomfield, or perhaps even heard of the Della Cruscan school of poetry.

To his brother, Arthur, who had recently entered college, he gives some excellent advice, in a letter written from Portland, Oct. 8, 1803: " Be not drawn to the entertainments at any room which you cannot afford to equal. Allow no one to intrude on certain hours which you have a right to claim and enjoy in solitude. Follow not the vulgar in decrying the course of college studies. Especially reverence those authors dignified by the name of classics, those spiritual beings, whom only the eye of genius assisted by taste can discover and accompany in their lofty flight to the regions of heaven."

In a letter to his classmate, Strong, dated Oct. 11, 1803, he speaks of hearing a funeral sermon from Mr. Channing: " For the first time I heard Mr. Channing preach on the last Sabbath of my remaining in Boston. It was a funeral sermon on the death of Mrs. Higginson. Henceforth, let it not be said that we are destitute of eloquence, although it may not be so common in ours as in other countries. This single instance should raise our national character, could it have been heard by the critics of the Old World. The feeling of an audience is the scale by which excellence in the divine art must be measured ; and, if my sentiments could express the

general voice, never, should they say, were we more affected by a tribute to friendship and virtue. Painful must be the emotions of those who rise from hearing such a sermon, when they reflect that the preacher, from external appearance, is not long intended by Heaven to be a blessing to this world." Happily these forebodings as to the preacher's early death were not realized. He lived nearly forty years after this sermon "to be a blessing to this world."

In a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, written from Portland, April 9, 1804, he indulges in a more sportive vein: "They have compelled me to dance several times within a few weeks! It was not necessary even to put hot irons under my feet, as is usually the mode of instructing that animal who, from his clumsy habits, appears least susceptible of acquiring that art. Cicero, I think, says, 'None but a mad man ever dances.' What excuse or palliation can be offered by me before such a cynical judge? It was compassion that induced me to move. The ladies are double the number of gentlemen at all parties, and to see one taking another of her own sex as a partner was too much even for philosophical frigidity and conscious deficiency."

There is also another early letter of Mr. Savage which is worthy of preservation. His classmate, the Rev. Edward Payson, then pursuing his theological studies, had written him concerning his spiritual state. His letter has not been preserved, but it was doubtless marked by great earnestness and a fervid zeal in enforcing the writer's peculiar religious views, which were of the strictest type of Calvinism. In after life, as is well known, Mr. Payson was an eloquent and powerful preacher of the gospel.

Dec. 15, 1806.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I read your last letter without being angry. How could I be, when every word in it was written in a spirit of the purest affection! Yet that it gave me great uneasiness must be confessed, and that it seemed impossible for me ever to reply to it. What then was I to do? Keep silent, and leave you ignorant of the effect it produced, or inform you that it was too bitter to be palatable? It seemed like the constant repetition of the prophet's language to David, "Thou art the man."

Yet I cannot feel as the king did, for my conscience is not agitated by the remembrance of any aggravated crime. I know that men may be as criminal by omission as by actual transgression; and that they become satisfied with themselves, contrary to all reason and all Scripture; that a heart which never reproaches itself is found in the bosom of the thoughtless as well as of the pious man.

I fear that my conduct and feelings would not content you, though

they may satisfy myself. I pray for the blessing of Heaven on all my studies and on all my projects, and without it I know I can hardly live contented in mind for this life and have no hopes for another. But I am interested in whatever is taking place in the world, and you would think totally engrossed in its concerns. Yet I do not "halt between two opinions." I break intentionally no commandment, I do not wilfully neglect any duty. But I cannot often feel the raptures you enjoy, lifting above earth and its enjoyments. This will, I am fully confident, appear to you a confession of error dangerous in the extreme, of an indifference operating on the soul like a gangrene in the body. That it will raise as painful emotion in you as any letter you ever received has kept me from the task; but when I undertook it, I could not be a hypocrite. "The subject is disagreeable"; but be assured, as you can believe the operations of any tongue of man, my friendship for you is as great as ever; it is increased. You have inflicted castigation; but it was the most friendly, the most pious sensations that induced you to hope an effect it has not produced.

No person out of your own family more sincerely rejoices at your happiness than I do; and who is he that would do more to promote it! I cannot say more than I have on the subject above, however little satisfactory to the best friend on this earth; and on other topics of less interest I should write with heaviness, and you would look without pleasure.

Farewell. May God, the judge of all, have you and yours in his holy keeping, and may we meet with purer affections in a better world.

JAMES SAVAGE.

Immediately after his graduation, he began the study of law at Portland, in the office of the Hon. Isaac Parker, afterward Chief Justice of Massachusetts. In 1805, he returned to Boston, and read law for a few weeks in the office of the Hon. Samuel Dexter; but, his health failing, he made, for the sake of restoration, a journey to the springs of Saratoga and to Niagara, at that time a slow and toilsome undertaking. However, the rough experience he had was more conducive to his health than the smooth travel of the present day would have been. Upon his return, his cousin the late Frederic Tudor, well known as the founder of the ice trade, engaged him to accompany his elder brother, William Tudor, to visit the principal islands of the West Indies for the purpose of negotiating for the exclusive right of importing to their respective provinces cargoes of ice. In the month of November, they sailed for Martinique; and soon after arriving there Mr. Savage was violently attacked with yellow fever, and his cousin took leave of him with little expectation of ever seeing him again.

Fortunately, before his illness, they had gone to visit for

the Christmas holidays a gentleman whose youth had been passed in Boston, and while under his roof Mr. Savage was taken ill. It chanced that the governor of the island, who had come to visit the mother of the Empress Josephine, in a neighboring parish, was invited to dine at the house of Mr. Savage's friend, and he came accompanied by his physician. In the course of the dinner, the kind host stated that he had a young friend lying severely ill in the next room. The physician immediately became interested in the case, went to see the patient, and gave careful directions for his treatment, which were judicious, simple, and successful. Mr. Savage always considered that he owed his life to the timely prescriptions of this physician, aided by the excellent nursing of the mother of his friend. Upon his restoration, he embarked alone, and overtook his cousin at the Island of St. Domingo, visiting Dominica and St. Thomas on the way. At St. Domingo, they received the kindest treatment from the governor, and remained on the island for three weeks. They next went to Jamaica for some weeks. They were successful in negotiating for the import of ice from the United States, and returned home in May, 1806, "to undergo," to use Mr. Savage's own words, "the discipline of three days' preposterous quarantine, when three minutes would have been long enough."

Upon his return, he at once resumed the study of the law in the office of William Sullivan, Esq., and was admitted to the bar in 1807. He held a respectable rank in his profession, but never attained to eminence. This was owing rather to peculiarities of character than to intellectual defects. He had in large measure that quality of strong patience in labor which is most essential to professional success, but in his case it was necessary that this quality should be exerted in the direction prompted by some original taste or impulse. The law demands from its votaries an exclusive devotion, and this he was never prepared to give. He had a certain impatience of temperament, which did not attract the casual client. To the gift of eloquence which distinguishes the brilliant advocate, and without which striking success in jury trials cannot be attained, he made no pretensions. His love of truth, even at that time, was supreme; and he never would affect a zeal which he did not feel, nor conceal or suppress a genuine conviction of his mind. If he had had the power, he would not have borrowed the hues of rhetoric to enforce a position of the truth of which he was not himself thoroughly convinced.

His social nature, and the quickness and wide range of his sympathies, soon caused him to be largely associated with the civil, literary, and benevolent institutions of Boston. Early a member, he was for some time Secretary of the Anthology Society, of whose organ, "The Monthly Anthology," he was for five years an editor. Speaking on this point, he says: "At times, letters have engaged my attention, but not to withdraw me from the proper duties of my profession, or service of the community in active life. Most of what I have written may as well be permitted to pass by uninterrupted course to oblivion. Strangers could hardly express esteem for fugitive papers, when no fondness towards them is felt by the author. During four or five years, I was associated with the gentlemen who carried on the 'Boston Monthly Anthology'; and several of my reviews or other communications may have given to the readers momentary amusement, or contributed to facilitate their slumbers. More than two articles in the 'North American Review,' it is believed, are not chargeable to me. An oration on the 4th of July, 1811, delivered at the request of the municipal fathers of my native town, would not probably be remembered by anybody, but for the circumstance that it was on the hottest day of the century." In the year 1812, he delivered the oration before the Phi-Beta-Kappa Society of Cambridge; in the same year, was chosen a member of the House of Representatives, and was re-elected for the next year. He was a member of the Convention of 1820, for amending the Constitution of Massachusetts. He was again chosen representative in 1821, and subsequently was elected to the Senate. He was a member of the Council for two years during the administration of Governor Lincoln, and at a later period for the same length of time with Governor Davis. While Mr. Quincy was Mayor, he was a member of the City Government four years, two in the Common Council and two as Alderman. He sat in the School Committee for one year, and he was a member of the Senate for 1840.

All those public trusts were ably and faithfully discharged by Mr. Savage. Whatever work came in his way he did thoroughly and conscientiously; for industry with him was not merely a quality of temperament, but a virtue of character. In his motives, he was thoroughly fearless and thoroughly disinterested. He did not speak often or at great length; and he won the respect of those from whom he differed by his evident sincerity, and by the good sense, seasoned with a peculiar vein of humor, with which his views were enforced.

He revised for the press the volume of "Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay." To borrow his own language: "A greater task, assumed by request of my friend, Rev. J. S. Buckminster, might have yielded perhaps more credit; but no diligence of mine could adequately contend with the constant and unrivalled carelessness of the printer of the Boston edition of Paley's Works. Overseeing the press-work of the ten volumes of American State Papers selected by Hon. J. Q. Adams, under authority of Congress, afforded some gratification to my love of exact truth in History." He was the founder of the "Provident Institution for Savings in the town of Boston." While on a visit to his friend, the late Benjamin Vaughan of Hallowell, in 1816, he met with one of the reports of "The London Provident Institution of Savings." He read it with deep interest; and it occurred to him that a similar institution in Boston would be a great blessing to the community, by supplying to the industrious poor a place of safe deposit for their savings. In this way, habits of economy would be gradually formed and encouraged. Upon his return to Boston, he laid the subject before a number of prominent citizens. As is usually the case with new forms of charity, he met with warm support from some, and from others that worst kind of opposition, — the opposition of indifference. He persevered, however; and "The Provident Institution for Savings in the town of Boston" was duly chartered by the Legislature. Mr. Savage watched over the infant institution with something like paternal care from 1817 to 1862, a period of forty-five years. He was, successively, Secretary, Treasurer, Vice-President, and President; and these services were given much of this time without compensation. His bust in marble stands appropriately in the vestibule of the present building, as an enduring memorial of the founder of the institution. When this was established, there was but one other of the same nature in the whole country: now there are no less than twenty-one similar institutions in Boston alone, and they are found in most of the large towns in New England.

About the same time with the foundation of the Savings Bank, Mr. Savage became deeply interested in the establishment of Primary Schools for Boston. In this, he had the active co-operation and support of his friend, Mr. Elisha Ticknor, a man like himself of strong benevolent impulses under the control of a sound practical understanding. He had been for some years a principal in one of the Boston Grammar Schools, and his experience as a teacher made him anxious that some-

thing should be done for the children between four and seven years of age, whose opportunities for education were less in Boston than in some of the country towns in the Commonwealth. He conversed with many of his friends upon the subject, and interested them in it, and especially Mr. Savage, with whom he was intimate. The project at first encountered the opposition of the Selectmen and the School Committee. In 1807, a petition, signed by one hundred and sixty inhabitants, was read at a town meeting in Faneuil Hall. The last paragraph in this petition was as follows: "It appears to us also important that schools should be provided at the expense of the town for the instruction of children under the age of seven years. Therefore, we request that a meeting of the inhabitants of the town may be called, to take the above subject into consideration, and to adopt such measures thereon as the importance of the subject demands, and they may think most for the general good." A town meeting was called, and the subject referred by the town to the School Committee, with the addition of one person from each of the twelve wards, to be appointed by the Selectmen.

The committee was appointed on the 29th of May, 1817. On the 3d of November next, that committee made an elaborate report adverse to the petition, which was read to the School Committee, and by them accepted, but which was not submitted to the citizens at the town meeting, as the School Committee apparently regarded the votes of the town as placing the whole matter in their hands. It was, however, printed and distributed among the citizens, and was immediately the subject of discussion in the newspapers. We quote from an article in the "Daily Advertiser" of April 1, 1818, of which Mr. Savage was the author: "All should be taught to read: the poor and the rich should have an equal chance to understand the nature and principles of our Republican Government. . . . Many parents in this town send their children to private schools, kept by women; while those who are unable to pay for their tuition are obliged to leave them to traverse the streets, or shut them up at home. Of this class, there are hundreds among us already growing up to all kinds of iniquity. In the report of the School Committee of the 3d of November last, we are told that the number of children between the ages of four and fourteen is 526, '*who go to no school.*' What are those children doing? Who has charge of them? Where do they live? Why are they not at school? The committee have not informed us. Have *they* not a *right* to a good bringing up, and to a common school education?

and have they not a right to a common share of the friendship of the community? If their parents neglect to provide them a school, is it not the duty of the town to do it? and, if the town takes no interest in their welfare, is it not the duty of the Legislature to make laws for the purpose of saving these dependants, these sufferers?"

"All children have an equal right to the schools, we know, on the following conditions, viz.: 1st, The child must be seven years old; 2d, He must be able to read the Bible sufficiently well to keep his place in a class; 3d, He cannot be admitted after the age of fourteen, however well he can read, or however deficient he may be in writing or arithmetic. Take, then, the case of a parent (and there are hundreds of them in town) whose circumstances are such as to prevent him from qualifying his children for enjoying the benefit of our free schools under and after the age of seven. Can it be said that the doors of our schools are open to these children? We say that they are not; yet we are told, 'they *are* open, *freely* open to their reception,' but these children are as much deprived of the benefits of our schools as they would be of running after their legs were broken or their eyes put out."

The friends of the Primary Schools were not discouraged by their failure; and accordingly another petition was drawn up, and presented to the town, at a town meeting in Faneuil Hall, May 25, 1818. This petition was drawn up by Mr. Elisha Ticknor and Mr. Savage, and to their efforts was due the large number of eminent and influential men who signed it. The petition was referred by the town to a special committee, which made a favorable report on the 3d of June; and the further discussion of the subject was postponed to the 11th of the same month.

The Selectmen and School Committee were confident that their opposition to the scheme would triumph; and, to make assurance doubly sure, they retained the persuasive eloquence and great personal influence of Mr. Harrison Gray Otis against the acceptance of the report. But, to their great surprise, the report was adopted by a very large vote; and the Primary Schools were established, and it is needless to say have continued ever since. Mr. Savage acted for many years as Secretary of the Board, and gave much time and thought to ensure the successful working of the system.

In January, 1832, Mr. Savage delivered a lecture before the Massachusetts Lyceum, on the Constitution of Massachusetts, which was published in the March number of the "New England Magazine" of that year.

He was chosen an Overseer of Harvard College in 1838, and continued a member of the board till 1853. In 1841, that institution conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

In 1819, as one of the executors of James Otis Lincoln, the son of his mother by adoption, Mrs. Mary Lincoln, he visited Demerara. Mr. Lincoln died seized of a valuable estate in that colony, which was claimed by the heirs-at-law of the original possessor, the wife of his brother. In 1823, he repeated his visit, accompanied by the widow and two children of Mr. Lincoln, their presence being deemed necessary to a confirmation of the title; the Orphans' Court having decided in their favor, after a litigation of some length.

As chairman of a committee of the Pilgrim Society, appointed in 1849, Mr. Savage in the following year made a report on the subject of the "Calendar for Old and New Style," showing that the Society had hitherto chosen the wrong day on which to celebrate the landing of the Pilgrims. The Pilgrims landed on the 11th of December, 1620. In 1769, when the celebration of this event was first instituted at Plymouth, eleven days was the true difference between Old and New Style, and this difference was erroneously assumed to represent the true day of the landing in 1620; whereas, but ten days were required, so that the landing should be celebrated on the 21st instead of the 22d of the month.

Mr. Savage was chosen a member of our Society on the 28th of January, 1813, at the early age of twenty-nine years. He had thus been at the time of his death a member for a little more than sixty years, a longer period than any on our records, except that of the late venerable Josiah Quincy, who had been a member for sixty-eight years at the time of his death in 1864, at ninety-two years of age. When Mr. Savage was elected, six of the ten original members were still living.

In connection with this Society, Mr. Savage found a field of labor eminently congenial to the peculiar traits of his mind and his tastes. He was from the first a punctual and assiduous attendant on its meetings, allowing no engagement to interfere with what was to him both pleasure and duty. He served the Society almost uninterruptedly from the beginning of his connection with it, having been Librarian from 1814 to 1818; a member of the Publishing Committee of five several volumes of our Collections, in 1815, 1816, 1819, 1823, and 1825; Treasurer from 1820 to 1839; a member of the Standing Committee from 1818 to 1820, and from 1835 to 1841;

and, lastly, President of the Society from 1841 to 1855. At that date, having completed the Psalmist's allotted portion of human life, he claimed the right to decline all further official duty. On his retirement from the chair, it was unanimously resolved, on motion of Mr. Ticknor, "that the members of this Society, mindful of the excellent services which for fourteen years the Hon. James Savage has rendered as its President, and of his peculiar fitness for that place, not only on all other grounds, but from his extraordinarily accurate knowledge of whatever relates to the early history of New England, do now express their great regret at his resignation, and offer him their thanks for his long-tried and uniform fidelity to their interests." His manner of presiding over our deliberations was peculiar and characteristic. It would not serve as a model for imitation; but in him it was so natural, so true an expression of the better part of his nature, that no one was ever disposed to criticise it, or to wish it any other than it was. He regarded the President's chair as giving him a large opportunity to discourse upon subjects of which his mind was full, and to communicate such information as all the Society were glad to listen to. His conversation was spontaneous and unstudied.

Whatever subject was started in the course of discussion called forth from him a ready contribution of the most accurate knowledge, conveyed in language quaint and original, and from its point and raciness commanding attention at the time and easily remembered. Such a manner of presiding would not have been fitting except in an assembly of moderate size, all interested in the same pursuits. Hardly any meeting of the Society occurred during his Presidency without something falling from his lips worthy of preservation, either from its substance or its form. His interest in our Society by no means ceased with his resignation of the office of President. For some years after, he was regular and punctual in his attendance. He was accustomed to enter the room with a quick step and with a contagious expression of cordial pleasure in his countenance, which had an instant effect on all present.

In the year 1816, there was discovered in the tower of the Old South Church, in Boston, a third volume of the History of New England, in the original manuscript of the author, John Winthrop, first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay. It was more probably *recovered* than *discovered*. The Rev. Thomas Prince, the annalist, the pastor of that church, who died in 1758, had kept his library in the tower, and doubtless

did most of his literary work there. Prince in 1754 had announced that he had lately received a most authentic and valuable *Journal* of events relating to said (Massachusetts) Colony, . . . viz.: "From Monday, March 29, 1630, to Jan. 11, 1648-49, . . . all wrote with . . . Gov. Winthrop's own Hand, who deceas'd in the very house I dwelt in on the 26th of March after." This was the entire History in three manuscript parts or volumes. He had undoubtedly borrowed them of the Winthrop family. The first and second volumes had been returned, and by consent of the proprietors were transcribed and published at Hartford in 1790. The third volume had been overlooked, and was therefore not included in the Hartford publication, and had never been published. "When this precious volume was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society," as Mr. Savage says, in his preface to the second edition, "at their next meeting, 25th of April, the difficulty of transcribing it for the press seemed to appal several of the most competent members, whose engagements in more important duties afforded also a sufficient excuse for leaving such labor to be undertaken by any one at any time, who could devote to it many weeks of leisure. The task appeared inviting to me. On the same evening, the manuscript was taken, and the study of its chirography was begun the next day, by the aid of one of the former manuscripts collated with the printed volume usually called Winthrop's *Journal*." Volumes I. and II. of the original manuscript had already been transferred to the Historical Society's Library. While engaged in copying and preparing the manuscript for the press, Mr. Savage carefully collated the first and second volumes with the edition printed in 1790 in Hartford, Conn.; and he soon saw the importance of preparing a new edition of those two volumes, to be published in connection with that newly discovered.

Quoting again from the preface: "Notes explanatory in some instances of the text, illustrating in some degree the biography of many persons named in it, and referring to better accounts of others than I could furnish, were thought necessary. Several hundred notes were prepared, and a careful collation of the whole printed volume for a second time with the original volume of manuscript was furnished on the 2d June, 1819. Being then required to visit a foreign country, all my preparations were suspended until I returned. Care, however, was taken to leave the corrected copy of the printed volume with my copy of the third part to be kept safely. Again called abroad in 1822, I so carefully disposed of my

copy of the third volume as to leave it in a forgotten place, which afforded me the gratification of making a new one, begun Dec. 8, 1823, and finished March 30, 1824.

"This circumstance admonished me of the propriety of adopting early measures for guarding against further accidents of that kind. Application was made at the next session of the General Court of this Commonwealth, by the Historical Society, for encouragement of the publication. In consequence of the liberal aid of the Legislature, the volume comes thus early before the public."

The second manuscript volume was unhappily destroyed by fire, with Mr. Savage's copy and notes, while the work was going through the press. In a note to page 13, Volume II. of the printed work, he records the misfortune as follows: "Here ends the perfect text of the venerable manuscript of the author, which began in my Vol. I. p. 197. On the morning of the 10th November, 1825, the original was destroyed by fire; and my copy, on which the labor of collation, equally faithful and pleasant, had been bestowed by me, three times in different years, was also lost. Another copy, designed for the printers, shared the same fate, except that the few pages foregoing, having been sent to the press, were preserved. From this place to the end of the second volume of the original manuscript, the boast of a pure text, with correction of the grosser errors denoted in the margin, and supplying of omissions in the former edition, must be abandoned. In some places, my memory preserves what the destructive element ravished from my possession; but I shall be cautious of trusting so frail a resource. Nearly all my notes are preserved for that part of the present volume which had been printed in 1790."

On coming to the end of the second manuscript volume and beginning his labors on the third, which had never been printed till his edition appeared, he records his feelings in a characteristic note: "My emotions on coming again to the true text of the original historian, where others may follow my footsteps in the original manuscript and scrutinize the faithfulness of the track, are very gratifying. The common reader, who feels the difference between the text from page 13 of this volume to the last preceding, wherein my memory and judgment only have contributed sometimes to its correctness, and that pure transcript extending from page 197 of the former volume to page 12 of this, *ad fidem codicis*, on which he may confidently rely, though the manuscript is destroyed by fire, will rejoice in the new field that he now enters on

without participating my exultation in the hope that future scrupulous antiquaries will the more diligently, on account of the loss of the second, recur to the first and third volumes of Winthrop's autograph."

This fire, it may be remarked, which consumed the whole of Mr. Savage's law library, broke the last link which bound him to his profession. Starting, as we have said, with but a moderate love for it, that qualified affection had not been increased by the lapse of time. Still, he attended at his office with punctual regularity, and did the business which fell in his way thoroughly and conscientiously. Until the date of his marriage in 1823, he had drawn from his profession an income sufficient for his moderate wants and frugal tastes. After this fire, he did not take another office, and his time was wholly given to other than professional pursuits. Winthrop's "History of New England" as edited by Mr. Savage is a weighty authority in the history of the country, of which, while very many persons know something, but few make themselves masters of its contents. The comments of the editor form a mine of curious and accurate learning, shrewd remark, and quaint illustration, conveyed in a style tinged with a certain grave pleasantry very characteristic of the writer. Indeed, they make by themselves a collection which may be read with pleasure and profit.

Their merits are the more conspicuous from their being in such marked contrast with the gravity of the text. But equally conspicuous is the fairness of his views and his wise charity in judgment. He loved the fathers of New England judiciously, but not extravagantly. He was very kind to their virtues, but not blind to their faults or the faults of the time in which their lot was cast. Himself of a strong and deep religious nature, he had nothing of the fanaticism and intolerance which unhappily were controlling forces in their motives and conduct.

A few quotations from these notes will give the reader an idea of their spirit and character. In relating the events of the year 1633, Winthrop gives the following account of some proceedings at Charlestown: "Satan bestirred himself to hinder the progress of the Gospel, as, among other practices, appeared by this: he stirred up a spirit of jealousy between Mr. James the pastor of Charlton [Charlestown] and many of his people, so as Mr. Nowell and some others who had been dismissed from Boston began to question their fact of breaking from Boston, and it grew to such a principle of conscience among them, as the advice of other ministers was taken in it, who, after two meetings, could not agree about their contin-

uance or return.”—Vol. I. p. 127. Upon this Mr. Savage remarks in a note: “It is to be regretted that any jealousy arose in the infant church of Charlestown; yet, if Nowell and others doubted the propriety of their separation from the brethren of Boston, we may ascribe their dissatisfaction to finding their pastor to be a man of less useful talents or amiable temper than had been expected. Few in the present age would attribute such a misfortune to the agency of Satan, who has been, says Jortin, ‘charged with many things which perhaps he never did.’ But in our indictment for capital offences we retained, until very recently, the absurd allegation, ‘being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil.’”

Under the year 1635, Winthrop, in narrating the proceedings of the General Court respecting Endicott's defacing the cross in the ensign, remarks: “For which they adjudged him worthy admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office; declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent.” Mr. Savage's note is as follows: “Had his conscience been as enlightened as it was tender, he would have conformed to the harmless custom; but, next year, men of soberer judgment were found ready to refuse compliance with bearing the standard of their country, and almost willing to imitate the outrage of Endicott. A tract of nearly thirteen pages in defence of the cross, by the celebrated Hooker, is among the manuscripts of our Historical Society; but I have neither courage nor curiosity enough to study it. We may not imagine that our ancestors had carefully scrutinized the fable of the holy sign in Constantine's vision, or were sufficiently instructed to repudiate the consecrated Labarum of the first Christian Emperor; and perhaps an Englishman of our times may presume that there was as much policy as abhorrence of idolatry in the dread of the banner of St. George. Yet this presumption would be unfounded. Though there appears in September preceding something like prepared opposition to expected tyranny, I do not discover in these weak scruples about the ensign any affection of independence, to which a few years later their circumstances offered very powerful inducements. In the flag of the United States are exhibited white stars in a blue field; but the most punctilious imitator of the severe simplicity of the fathers of New England has never compared our service under it to the heathenish abomination of worshipping the host of heaven. An anecdote of a politic use of these em-

blems by Barlow, when negotiating at Algiers, proves that a diseased conscience might entertain this scruple, because the imagination can thus apply the object. He said to the minister of the Dey, 'There ought to be friendship between our countries, since you worship the moon, and we the stars.'"—I. 159.

In narrating the events of 1636, Winthrop thus mentions the death of Captain Mason, well known as a conspicuous enemy of the Colony: "Last winter Captain Mason died. He was the chief mover in all the attempts against us, and was to have sent the general governor, and for this end was providing shipping; but the Lord in mercy taking him away, all the business fell on sleep, so as ships came and brought what and whom they would without any question or control."—Vol. I. p. 187. To which Mr. Savage appends this note: "We must always be careful to distinguish between the opinions and the principles of our fathers. The spirit of the age, in which religious controversy had borne or was bearing all its evil fruits, was not a spirit of charity; and the judgment of Heaven was, by each party, perpetually invoked against the other. In the wilderness, the error increased, but it increased faster at home; and, much as we regret the fanaticism of the first two ages of New England, the examples of its baleful influence are more numerous and more shocking, though for a shorter season, in the native land of our ancestors. The disaster of Mason will be mentioned hereafter in more detail. Perhaps his dying declaration of good-will to our country prevented a heavier condemnation at the tribunal of our author, as it has and will do in the judgment of later times."

In 1640, Winthrop writes: "About this time there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek Testament, the Psalms, and the Common Prayer were bound together. He found the Common Prayer eaten with mice every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand. Quere, of the child at Cambridge killed by a cat." The following is Mr. Savage's note: "Such an anecdote looks too much like superstitious belief in the relater. It is apparently introduced as a pointing from Heaven against the services of the Episcopal Church, but is susceptible of an harmless explanation: the mice, not liking psalmody and not understanding Greek, took the food from another part of the volume. Our age will believe that the book, which alone

was injured among a thousand, was fortuitously attacked by these humble mischief-makers. The succeeding paragraph omitted by the former editor is surely of equal value, whether true or not. If the cat had been in Winthrop's library, she might have prevented the stigma on the Common Prayer."

Under the same year, we find the following entry: "Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, of whom mention is made before, being come to Virginia, took upon him to be a minister, but was given up of God to extreme pride and sensuality, being usually drunken, as the custom is there."—Vol. II. p. 22. Which calls forth this note: "Our neighbors of Virginia will not, I hope, be disconcerted at this report of customary drunkenness; or they must at least recollect that the materials of their infant colony were less select than those of New England. If the imputation be intended, as appears not improbable, to apply only to the ministers of religion, the author's gradually acquired prejudice against the Church of England will afford explanation of the phrase, and their charity must supply the deficiency of his."

The Appendix H, to the first volume [second edition], is a long and characteristic argument by Mr. Savage, to show that the deed of four Indian Sagamores to Rev. John Wheelwright and others, 17th May, 1629, of a certain tract of land in what is now New Hampshire, is not authentic,—an opinion which, as is well known, he maintained with great zeal and emphasis. We cite a paragraph from the close of this argument, as affording a good specimen of Mr. Savage's manner of dealing with a subject about which he had no doubt: "Degrees in confidence or disbelief ought to be marked by the amount of examination bestowed on the subject of inquiry; yet in the whole round of experience we see that the quality of the affections, or the state of the mind, does most materially affect and sometimes wholly pervert the judgment, after more or less of investigation. Whether my final opinion on the authenticity of the Wheelwright deed be the result of sober research or inveterate prejudice, its origin is truly stated in the opening sentence of this article; and that it received the concurrence of Mason, Smith, Webster, Atherton, Haven, Cutter, Kelley, and Farmer, men who could not, on such a subject at least, be clouded by interest or passion, was no ways unexpected, though not one nor all of them strengthened my belief. A single opponent appears, but without giving us the benefit of publishing his reasons. It seems to me that no childlike trust in authority leads him to repose confidence in the integrity of the document, but heroic hardi-

hood of struggle against argument, and manly resistance of conviction. Many people would derive benefit from a moderate dose of scepticism taken once a quarter; but how vainly may his physician prescribe that course to a hero, whose ostrich stomach can digest a New England gorgon, killed thirty years ago, and then two hundred years old, as was told by the *Journal of Portsmouth*, where the venomous monster was born and brought up. Still, the right of suspension of judgment is the more to be revered, as we find the power of such suspension to be rare; yet to differ from everybody else in opinion, on a matter of fact, is but a slender claim to distinction. One gains credit for it from a smaller number than that of those who doubt his sincerity.

“Even if sincere, such credulousness is not always ludicrous; much more when it is affected should it be thought pitiable. His intrepidity of belief will indeed excite a temporary surprise, still it must not aspire to be preserved in memory of the present or the next generation, with the same wonder as will ever attach to the impudence of the forgery.”

For some years after the publication of Winthrop's *History of New England*, Mr. Savage was not occupied with any particular literary labor. The high reputation which he had gained as a New England Antiquary by that work led to an extensive correspondence with persons interested in similar pursuits. The letters he received often required a considerable degree of research before they could be answered satisfactorily to himself. All these demands upon his time were cheerfully met, for “the labor we delight in physics pain”; and the investigations which this correspondence entailed were a preparation for the crowning work of his life. In April, 1842, he sailed for England, in which country, and Scotland, he remained until October of that year. He had a distinct object in view, that of searching for materials to illustrate the early annals of this country. In the preface to his *Genealogical Dictionary*, he says: “The early history of John Harvard was certainly one of the chief inducements of my visit to England early in '42. I would have gladly given five hundred dollars to get five lines about him in any relation private or public. Favored as I was in this wish by the countenance of his Excellency E. Everett, then our minister at London, no trace could be found except in his signature to the rules on taking his degree at the University, where he is titled ‘of Middlesex.’” His investigations were carried on chiefly at the British Museum, the State Paper Office, at the Rolls Court in Westminster Hall, and at Oxford and Cam-

bridge ; but they were not confined to these. He found in the Registry of the Prerogative Court at Canterbury the will of Isaac Johnson, Esq., husband of the lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln.

The results of his labors were published under the title of "Gleanings for New England History," in Volumes VIII. and X. of the 3d Series of the Collections of our Society. He kept a journal of more than forty closely written pages, but it is entirely confined to records of his success or failure in the object of his pursuit. He has very little to say of the general impressions made on him by the mother country, of its scenery, its architectural monuments, or the peculiar traits of English character as revealed in daily intercourse. There is no trace in this Journal of his having visited any of those places in Great Britain which are of most interest to the generality of cultivated Americans. No curiosity led him to Stratford-on-Avon or Abbotsford. He did not see Stonehenge, or Warwick Castle, or Kenilworth, or Windsor Castle, or Hampton Court. There is no record of his having ever attended a debate in Parliament or a trial in Westminster Hall. The only eminent men of letters that he saw were Wordsworth and Landor. We know from his private letters that his visit was a source of deep and lasting enjoyment : he was prepared beforehand to admire every thing in England, and either would not or did not see any thing which qualified that feeling. He did not visit Ireland or any portion of the Continent. He had no curiosity to see any part of Europe outside of the United Kingdom. The thought of travelling in any country whose language he could not speak seemed to him nothing less than absurdity. He made many valuable friends in England, among them the Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the Record Commissioners, a man of a kindred spirit, an antiquary and something more ; Rev. Joseph Romilly, Registrar of the University of Cambridge ; and the Rev. Philip Bliss, Registrar of the University at Oxford.

In 1846, a change occurred in his way of life, which is worthy of being mentioned as illustrating his character. In that year, his family made their summer home in a country house in Lunenburg. He had reached the ripe age of sixty-two, when men are little disposed to forget the old ways or to learn new ones. He had always been a dweller in cities, and seemed to be more than content with his lot. He delighted like Charles Lamb "in the sweet security of streets." He had no rural tastes which were not satisfied by the Boston Common and Boston suburbs. He had no longings

for either the mountains or the sea. It seemed to his family that to take him away from his usual surroundings, at his time of life, was, to say the least, a doubtful experiment.

The house was accordingly built under the superintendence of his wife, and was never even seen by Mr. Savage till it was completed and occupied by the family. He was then formally invited by them to spend a week, and to their delight and surprise took most kindly to the change. He soon established himself there for the summer, and removed thither his books and papers. He soon came to take great pleasure in the tranquil life of the country. The common sights and sounds around him, the growth of his garden, the changing seasons, were enough to make him happy.

The house, set on a hill, commanded a rich and boundless New England landscape; and the shows of earth and sky fell upon his spirit like a benediction. This taste for the country was developed so late in life that it had the charm of ever fresh novelty. The large and hospitable house was often filled with young people, the friends of his children; and his delight in their society, and theirs in his, was pleasant to behold. Shakespeare says, "Crabbed age and youth cannot live together." But if the age is not "crabbed," but, on the contrary, genial and kindly, it has a peculiar charm for unspoiled youth. From this time, for many years, he passed a portion of each at Sunny Hill; and the ample leisure of such seasons he gladly gave to his great work, "The Genealogical Dictionary."

In 1853, Mr. Savage published a new edition of Winthrop's History of New England, with additions and corrections. From the preface, two paragraphs are cited, which will be recognized by all who knew the editor as very characteristic of his intellectual traits, and especially of his peculiar style:—

"Enlargement of the notes, both in number and substance, needs no specification. Some benefit has followed from one or another in the preceding impression. To have been the means of correcting no trifling error in such widely respected authors as honest Anthony Wood, the generous Tory, and honest Andrew Marvell, the uncompromising Republican, is some reason for rejoicing; but in charging, Vol. II. 241, the noble editor of Pepys's Memoirs with mistake in the affiliation of Downing, I am taught, by my own lapse, to rejoice with trembling. Emanuel is expressly called by Hutchinson, Vol. II. 2, 'father of Sir George Downing.' More than a quarter of a century has been enjoyed the satisfaction of uniting my name, in however humble degree, with that of the ever-honored first Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and I have not slighted the opportunities for enlarg-

ing our acquaintance with his early family relations, as they occurred in this country or in England.

“Want of knowledge about two of the Governor’s sons was especially regretted by his readers. That Mather, our first resort, commonly, for instruction as to the founders of New England, should give no light upon ‘Forth,’ or the younger son of the Governor, is less observable than his errors about the eldest, whom he particularly desired to honor, in his biography of the first Governor of the United Colony of Connecticut. His blunder as to ‘a liberal education of the University, first of Cambridge in England, then of Dublin in Ireland,’ that misled Belknap, and others of our most assiduous inquirers, may have an apology, since he seldom touched any thing that he did not confound, in his melting into one the education of Forth and John. Never was the latter, probably, at Cambridge, unless for an hour or two to visit his younger brother; and he was only sixteen when he went to Dublin. By the Registrar of the University, who examined the records, at my request, in June, 1850, it was certified that Forth ‘was matriculated a Pensioner of Emmanuel College on the 4th of July, 1626, having been admitted on the boards of that college in the preceding April’; and he added, ‘I do not find that any other of the Winthrop family were ever members of this University in the seventeenth century.’ How little reverence is by the *Magnalia* given to exact chronology, the best element of truth in history, appears a few lines later, in telling of this son’s election as a magistrate, ‘though not above twenty-three years of age,’ whilst only four sentences back he had given the *true* date of his birth, and in the same line with his heedless assertion had proved that he was more than twenty-five years and eight months old on first landing in the country. In fact, when chosen, he wanted but three days of the age of twenty-six years and three months.”

After his return from Europe in 1842, the next fifteen or sixteen years were almost exclusively devoted to his great work, the crown and consummation of the labor of his whole life, “The Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England,” of which the first and second volumes were published in 1860, the third in 1861, and the fourth in 1862.

We subjoin an extract or two from the preface to the fourth volume, in which the reader will detect a touch of quiet pathos, such as an old man would naturally feel in taking leave of a work which had occupied him for many years. “The task that near twenty years since was assumed by me is now ended; and no regret is felt for the time devoted to it. Pleasure and duty have been equally combined . . . The prosecution of the work has continued without interruption, in this long course of years, except twice, in both cases from illness: first, short but severe, more than fourteen years ago; next, lighter and longer, less than four years since; yet

from the time printing of the volumes began, December, 1858, no day has passed without progress, except the legal holidays. By the majority who, in careless hours, may turn over these columns, the scrupulous diligence of the printer will justly be more observed than the research of the author, who should feel sufficient reward, if his countrymen acknowledge they have no farther claim to use of his pen after the owner's reaching so near the age of fourscore. Still, my rejoicing should be rather that my service is finished than that I have no more to do." The prominent qualities of this work are research and accuracy: such, indeed, should be the characteristics of all works of reference. The most superficial examination of its pages is enough to show the immense toil expended upon it, and the patient unwearied zeal with which its minutest inquiries have been conducted. It may well rank, in these respects, with the most laborious works which the annals of literature can produce, with Ducange's Glossary, Stephens's Thesaurus, and Bayle's Dictionary. But, unlike these great works, the Genealogical Dictionary possesses no element of general interest. Even Johnson's Dictionary is a book which, from the number and beauty of its quotations, can wile away a half-hour pleasantly. But no such attraction can be found in the pages of Mr. Savage's laborious work. To a reader in search of amusement, it is the driest of dry bones, duller than the muster roll of an army, or the catalogue of the ships and warriors in the second book of the Iliad. But this fact only increases our respect for the author's iron industry and faithfulness to his purpose.

In his preface, he says that one initial letter required a year and a quarter for its completion, and the progress of a page has often demanded a week. But these volumes, seemingly so unattractive, were to Mr. Savage a labor of love, which never degenerated into mere task work. A well-known feature in this Dictionary is the number of its abbreviations, which amount to about three hundred thousand in the four volumes. By these means, a very great saving of space is secured, so much so that, had every word been printed in full, the work would have extended to six volumes instead of four. But it must be confessed that thus the unattractiveness of the book is increased to the general reader. On the other hand, the general reader will rarely take up the Dictionary; and, to those who consult it only for the positive information to be got from it, the contractions will be found but a slight hinderance. But, occasionally, Mr. Savage's peculiarities of mind and temperament crop out refresh-

ingly amidst the inevitable monotony of his pages. His hatred of intolerance and bigotry is sometimes expressed with great plainness of speech, and the careless inaccuracies of former chronicles are mercilessly exposed. Thus, under the head of Richard Bellingham, the following occurs: "Of his weakness as chief magistrate, other strange instances are related by the early historian of New England; but the most to be regretted was his enmity, at a later day, to the foundation of the Old South or Third Church of Boston, that ceased only with his life. Gov. Coddington, of Rhode Island, who had been, in their day of small things, much associated with Bellingham in both Bostons, almost exults at his completion of the measure of his iniquity in distraction, closing his 'Demonstration of True Love' in this emphatic style: 'The hand of the Lord cuts him off, not giving him repentance to life, that other sons of Belial of his persecuting spirit might be warned not to put the evil day far from them.' Without sympathy in the triumph of Gov. Coddington, it is grateful to me to remark that the unbroken reign of dismal bigotry from 1649 to 1672 inclusive, under Dudley, Endicot, and Bellingham, hard, harder, hardest, between the mild wisdom of Winthrop and the tolerant dignity of Leverett, came to its end with that last of the triumvirs of Massachusetts."

Under the head of Burroughs, he has occasion to mention the melancholy fate of the Rev. George Burroughs, the most prominent victim of the unhappy witchcraft delusion. Cotton Mather, as is well known, was present at the execution, which prompts Mr. Savage to make these characteristic remarks: "Cotton Mather published for the entertainment of the reader, as he terms it, an account of this trial and execution, at which latter he assisted. In the *Annals of Salem*, Felt relates: 'After he was hung, Cotton Mather believed him to have been justly dealt with, and, perceiving the impression which his last words and appearance had made to the contrary, endeavored to convince the people that no wrong had been done.' One month from that day, Giles Cory suffered punishment on the same preposterous charge as Burroughs; but, by the monstrous old common-law requirement, was pressed to death for standing mute under the indictment. This was the last as well as the first instance of such barbarous infliction. Mather was not, I think, present to witness this triumph over the devil in the enforced silence of his victim by the ministers of the law. Had the sheriff invited his aid, perhaps he would have declined the advantage; and we can hardly doubt that the fact of the other sufferer being a

minister, and son of the college in which the father of Mather then sat as President, excluded all undue feeling of tenderness, in many of the spectators, especially in him who, Calef tells us, 'rode on a horse to instruct the witnesses at the solemn scene.'"

Speaking of President Leverett, under the heading of that name, Mr. Savage again puts on the black cap, and passes stern judgment on Cotton Mather: "Great was the reputation of the College during his presidential care; but he expended his private fortune for its good, and, from an inadequate salary irregularly paid, left his children in poverty. Cotton Mather, who ought to have been chosen (as he confidently deemed the will of Heaven) instead of Leverett, yet expressed gratitude for his attention to his son, the graduate of 1723; but in a letter to Hollis, soon after the President died next year, stigmatized him as 'an infamous drone.' For the effect of the preposterous falsehood on the London friends of the College, see Hollis's note in the invaluable History of the University, I. 343; and we know that the number of students was more than double in the last seven or ten years of the rule of Leverett to what the same period of Increase Mather exhibits. Allowance should be made, however, for such failing in Cotton Mather's expression of his pious malignity, because the next President of Harvard after Increase Mather, and the six years of Willard's substitution, was this same Leverett, who stood two years younger in the College Catalogue than the ambitious and ambiguous author of the *Mag-nalia*. Tenderness was shown by the Rev. Dr. Coleman, the correspondent of Hollis, who preached a funeral sermon two days after the death of Mather; for he kindly kept back the knowledge of the posthumous attack on his friend Leverett. Indeed, the charge was so absurd, and the reputation of its inventor for studied looseness of language had so long been established, that Coleman would on such an occasion have been thought blameworthy for pointing out the darkness of the ingratitude, and the equally loathsome and ludicrous cowardice of the calumny."

Under the head of Osgood occurs another earnest expression of opinion upon the witchcraft delusion: "He died 21st of August, 1693, no doubt in some degree from the torment inflicted on his wife by accusation of witchcraft in the damnable delusion of 1692, though she saved her life by confession of impossible guilt. See Abbot, Calef, and Hutchinson, II. 31. Charming page is that in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. VII. 241, which gives her indictment, the gist of it being that she 'a cove-

nant with the devil did make, and signed the devil's book, and took the devil to be her God, and consented to serve and worship him, and was baptized by the devil, and renounced her former Christian baptism, and promised to be the devil's both body and soul forever, and to serve him.' I rejoice that, after the evaporation of the infernal spirit, she had energy enough to acknowledge, 19th October, 1692, before the venerable Increase Mather (not Cotton Mather, as in *Geneal. Reg.* XIII. 118, told), the falsehood of her confession; for surely most of the charges in that indictment would be better laid against the Judges in the Oyer and Terminer. They served, if they did not worship, the devil, and took him to be their God, whether they signed his book or not. Had that book been brought into court, as it ought to have been, or the Government called on to show at least what means they had used to get the precious record to the open view of the jury, the name of William Stoughton, and more than one of his associate judges, I doubt not, as clear as that of Mary Osgood, would have flared in the sapphire blaze. Hard is it to decide whether prisoners or judges were under stronger delusion."

Under the head of Pratt, he thus exposes the credulity of President Dwight: "Of one Ephraim, either this man or his son, is told the marvellous tale of longevity in Dwight's *Travels*, II. 358, that he was born in November, 1687, and died May, 1804, could count fifteen hundred descendants, ate no animal food for forty years, and 'was able to mow a good swath one hundred and one years in succession.' Improbabilities crowd up against both of these Ephraims: the senior must have been some years earlier than 1687, called by the man of second childhood his year of birth, as it is not probable that his first child was born in wedlock before the father was twelve and a half years old. Dr. Dwight should therefore have better called him one hundred and twenty-six than one hundred and sixteen years old; but, as part of the same chapter in apocrypha is that this veteran Ephraim had a Michael, who died 1826, aged one hundred and three years, we may adjudge the honor of the myth to have been designed for the junior. This younger Ephraim was not ninety-nine years old, when the credulity of President Dwight was instructed by the wonder-working old man that he had mowed grass one hundred and one years in succession, and only invalidated the year past. Dr. Dwight, though not sceptically inclined, as a juryman on a question of this man's will, had he made it on the day of his visit,

must have decided that it was not good, I presume for want of disposing mind and *memory* in the testator. So easily does the false story of great age obtain belief even from men of sagacity like President Dwight or Mr. Ward."

There is a touch of humor in the anecdote of Sir Thomas Temple, related under that title: "A pleasant anecdote is related by Hutchinson of Temple's persuading the King that the pine-tree on the coin struck in Boston was the royal oak that saved his Majesty. I doubt not this is as near the truth as tradition often reaches: perhaps it was uttered by the traveller to our friend the Earl of Manchester, or even to the Earl of Clarendon, whose well-trying loyalty quarrelled not with discretion; and, in the way of trifling not uncommon in that court, may possibly, though I think not, have got up to the throne. If the merry monarch had been ill-natured enough to ask what the date 1652 meant, Sir Thomas must have had awkward sensations."

Under the title of Wilson, he comments with no more than deserved severity upon an instance of the harshness, and even want of decency, of the otherwise well-deserving Rev. John Wilson, first minister of Boston: "Of the good desert of the first minister of Boston, abundant proof is found in the 'Magnalia,' III. chap. 3d, with some few lamentable characteristics of the author, perhaps little to be regarded in derogation from the character of Wilson. Yet of one trait in him, the zeal for the glory of God, as exhibited in 'Ill News from New England,' where the testimony of Obadiah Holmes, the Baptist confessor, is fully given, we must regret that it surpassed the limits of self-respect as well as common decency. Holmes tells, after his sentence to imprisonment and cruel scourging, 'As I went from the bar, I expressed myself in these words: I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus; whereupon John Wilson (their pastor as they call him) strook me before the judgment seat, and cursed me, saying, 'The curse of God or Jesus go with thee.'" For the imprecation upon the heretic, lenity may be extended, as we hope, by the final Judge, when he cometh in the clouds of heaven; but, at the tribunal of gentlemen, the assault on a defenceless prisoner, even though convicted by his own confession of the crime of preaching what he thought truth, meets no indulgence." The reader will find under the titles Rogers, Scroop, Sherman, Weld, Williams, and Winthrop, other passages illustrative of Mr. Savage's peculiarities of mind and eccentricities of style.

When the last volume of the Genealogical Dictionary had

been published, Mr. Savage had reached the age of seventy-eight years. Though his eye was not dimmed nor his natural force abated, he felt that he had earned the right to rest from his labors. His days, indeed, were not idle. Much time was given to a voluminous correspondence on the subjects of New England History and Genealogy. His stores of knowledge were freely given to all who sought them. He made frequent additions to, and correction in, his great work, the Genealogical Dictionary, and, to some extent, in Winthrop's Journal. His annotated edition of both works he bequeathed to our Society, and they are now carefully preserved in the library. As the infirmities of age increased upon him, he naturally retired more and more to the quiet seclusion of his own home. He retained to the last his sweetness of nature and winning courtesy of manners. Gradually and almost imperceptibly, the end was reached; and he was released by a painless death on the eighth day of March, 1873.

Mr. Savage's character was very easily read, even by those who did not know him well. No man ever lived who had less of what is called secretiveness than he. He never concealed what he really thought and felt, still less did he affect what he did not think or feel. His prominent traits were courage, truth, self-reliance, and independence. His opinions, both upon men and things, were expressed with great openness, and sometimes with a vehemence which startled those unfamiliar with his ways. He did not always take counsel of prudence in what he said, and paid less heed than most men to those conventional rules which govern social intercourse. He was impatient of contradiction, and sometimes manifested this characteristic with a warmth wholly disproportioned to the importance of the matter in controversy. But this trait never lost for him the good-will and esteem of any candid mind. There is great satisfaction in dealing with a man who sometimes carries his frankness to excess, but, on the other hand, never leaves any doubt as to his real sentiments. But all this does not suffice to give a true picture of what manner of man Mr. Savage was. The elder members of our Society, who remember him in the years during which he presided over us, will feel there is something wanting in this sketch. The commanding qualities of truth and courage are not those which he showed most in his familiar intercourse with his friends, and by which he was most distinctly remembered. He had many of those peculiarities which enter into the composition of the humorist, as that word is used by the earlier English writers, of which we have well-known exam-

ples in Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley and Scott's Jonathan Oldbuck. Mr. Savage had a vein of quaint and original humor which was perpetually cropping out, both in what he wrote and what he said. A person could hardly be with him half an hour without hearing something odd, pointed, or aphoristic. Though strongly social in his tastes, though he had always lived in a busy community, and taken an active part in the movements of society, he gave one the impression of a man whose peculiarities had been formed and strengthened by solitude. He respected public opinion, but he did not fear it. His growth was like that of a tree in the field, and not that of a tree in the forest.

There was also a certain affinity between his moral and his intellectual nature. He was no less remarkable for his love of accuracy than for his love of truth. This quality in him hardly stopped short of fanaticism. A wrong date, a false statement, a careless narrative, he resented as if it were a personal grievance; and it made no difference whether the offender had been sleeping in his grave a hundred years or more, nor was the energy of his feeling at all proportioned to the importance of the subject. And he felt a corresponding elation whenever he had succeeded in detecting an error in date or in correcting an erroneous statement, though in a forgotten pamphlet or carved upon an obscure tombstone.

Mr. Savage was commonly said to be a man of strong prejudices: it is more proper to say that he was a man of strong convictions. A prejudice, strictly speaking, is an opinion formed without sufficient reflection. In this sense, Mr. Savage could not be said to be a man of prejudices. He could give a reason for every article of faith that was in him. But, in his case, all his opinions partook of the warmth and vehemence of his temperament. He could believe nothing coldly or tamely. His mind had no neutral tints: whatever he believed, he believed with a sort of heat and passion. Many of his opinions were formed early in life, and he clung to them to the end with great tenacity. In his political creed, he was by the constitution of his mind a conservative, — averse to violent changes and to revolutionary measures. Like most of the educated men of Massachusetts, he was a strong Federalist as long as that party had an existence. His admiration of Washington hardly stopped short of idolatry, and he had a corresponding distrust of the creed and policy of Jefferson. The French Revolution broke out in his childhood, and his impressions of the French people were formed too exclusively from the horrors and excesses of that tremendous

convulsion. Respecting Napoleon Bonaparte, the child and representative of that revolution, his sentiments reached the high-water mark of old-fashioned English Toryism.

These opinions or prejudices, as some may call them, were shared by many of the best men of the community in which he lived, but some were peculiar to himself. Especially there were two men, in his own State, one living in the seventeenth and one in the eighteenth century, toward whom his feelings were akin to personal antipathy: these were Cotton Mather and John Hancock. In the case of Cotton Mather, his grounds of offence were his credulity, his rashness of statement, and, above all, his habits of carelessness and inaccuracy. Mr. Savage's researches led him over the same ground which had been trodden by Cotton Mather, and he had frequent occasion to detect his want of trustworthiness. We have before mentioned his own inevitable accuracy; and the want of it in Cotton Mather consequently awakened in him not merely a temporary irritation, but a feeling of settled moral reprobation. This feeling toward Cotton Mather was very characteristic. It was not a prejudice, strictly speaking, because he had reason for it; but, in the common acceptation of the word, it was a prejudice, for it was excessive in degree. In Mr. Savage's view, a writer who was guilty of carelessness or falsehood, when he had the means of getting at the truth, was little better than a pickpocket.*

His objections to John Hancock were of a different kind, though they may be traced back to his consistent and invincible love of truth. He felt keenly the difference between what he deemed Hancock's real character and that conceded to him by public estimation. He considered him as enjoying a reputation founded upon accidental circumstances, and to which he had no substantial claim. He did not think that his patriotic services in trying times gave him any title to have his weaknesses or his foibles ignored. Among these weaknesses, Mr. Savage regarded his vanity and his love of popularity, — infirmities to which the sturdy independence of his own character made him, perhaps, uncharitable. John Hancock, in his eyes, was a brilliant specimen of dust o'er-gilded. He retained in his memory many traditionary anec-

* At the preliminary hearing in the case of the Attorney-General against the Federal Street Church, Mr. Savage was a witness on behalf of the respondents. When the examination was concluded, Mr. Choate, who was on the other side, was asked if he had any questions to put in cross-examination. He replied that he had not, and added in a stage-whisper, "Now I have him under oath, I have a great mind to ask him why he hates Cotton Mather so."

dotes which were at variance with the received impressions concerning him; and he took the more pleasure in recounting them, because he held that strict justice required they should be known. Mankind is generally disposed to forget the infirmities and weaknesses of eminent patriots who prove true to their country in the day of trial, whatever may have been the motives upon which they acted. That John Hancock's name was first set to the Declaration of Independence has given him a sure title to immortality. It is, as Mr. Webster says, as if "he had written his name between Orion and the Pleiades."

Mr. Savage married, April, 1823, Elizabeth Otis, daughter of George Stillman of Machias, and widow of James Otis Lincoln of Hingham. Mr. Lincoln was the son of Mrs. Mary Lincoln, the faithful friend of his boyhood and youth. The fruit of this marriage was three daughters and one son. His domestic life was very happy, though darkened by many sorrows. Marrying rather late in life, he had the misfortune to survive his wife and three of his children. These heavy losses he felt keenly, but he submitted to them with the patience and resignation which religion only can give. His youngest child and only son, Lieutenant-Colonel James Savage, Jr., a young man of great purity and nobleness of character and sweetness of disposition, was an officer in the 2d Massachusetts Volunteers, in the late civil war, and died at Charlottesville, Va., of wounds received at the battle of Cedar Mountain. Mr. Savage's last years were passed in the family of his eldest daughter and sole surviving child, the wife of Professor William B. Rogers, first President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston, where he was the object of the tenderest ministering care.